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The Forum

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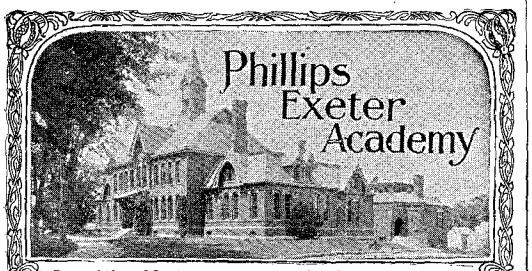

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The Forum

AUGUST, 1898.

THE SPANISH WAR AND THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE WORLD.

COULD we regard the Spanish War as calmly as if it were a thing of the past, we should doubtless perceive that it formed a link in a long chain of events which, when complete, would represent one of those memorable revolutions wherein civilizations pass from an old to a new condition of equilibrium. The last such revolution ended with Waterloo: the one now at hand promises to be equally momentous.

In 1760 Holland, probably, still contained the economic centre of the civilized world; but by 1815 that centre had indisputably moved northwest to the mouth of the Thames, England had become the focus of capital and industry, and second to England—and to England alone—stood France. It then appeared as though the seat of empire had definitely established itself in the region of Europe contained between the Atlantic Ocean, the North Sea, and the Rhine: but, on looking back, the inference is unavoidable that decay must have set in almost at once; for in 1870 France, with hardly a struggle, collapsed. Since 1870 the forces which caused this catastrophe have continued to operate with increased energy.

The conclusion to be drawn from these premises is that, from either a military or an economic standpoint, the equilibrium of 1815 has been destroyed. Disintegration seems to have set in; and that disintegration is sweeping capital and industry in opposite directions from their former centres,—to the east from Paris, and to the west from London. On the Continent the focus of industry has long since crossed the Rhine, and

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is receding toward the Vistula; while an equally marked tide has run from the British Isles toward America.

Perhaps the simplest illustration of this phenomenon is the iron trade, the basis of modern manufactures. In the middle of the last century France led in the production of pig-iron; England and Germany were nearly equal; while America produced but little. The pig-iron produced in 1740 was as follows: France, 26,000 tons; Great Britain, 20,000; Germany, 18,000; America, 1,000 tons.

During the next hundred years England distanced France; France gained relatively on Germany; and America increased her product from one-twentieth to more than one-fifth of that of the United Kingdom. The following was the product of pig-iron in 1840: Great Britain, 1,390,000 tons; France, 350,000; United States, 290,000; Germany, 170,000 tons.

After 1870 the movement became accelerated. Between 1880 and 1896 the German output grew from 2,729,038 to 6,372,816 tons; while that of France, which had been 1,725,293 tons in 1880, was only 2,333,-702 in 1896. The following extract from the "Industrial World" of February 3, 1898, puts in a nutshell the altered relations of the two nations:

"The rapidity with which the manufacture of hardware has grown in Germany may be judged from the fact that it compared with that of France in 1875 as four to three, and in 1895 as five to two."

But if Germany has outstripped France, the activity of America has been even greater. In 1840 the United States had not entered the field of international competition; in 1897 she undersold the English in London; and her product for 1898 promises nearly to equal that of Great Britain and France combined.

In Great Britain the production of pig-iron in 1880 was 7,749,233 tons; in 1896, 8,563,209; and in 1897, about 8,700,000 tons. Her exports of the same were: In 1880, 1,632,343 tons; in 1896, 1,059,796; and in 1897, 1,200,746 tons. Thus it would appear that the English iron industry is relatively stationary.

The United States, on the other hand, in 1870 produced 1,665,179 tons of pig-iron; in 1880, 3,835,191; and in 1897, 9,652,680 tons; while for the present year the estimates reach a million tons a month.

The exports of pig-iron amounted last year to 600,000 tons; and manufactured steel is exported in increasing quantities not only to India, Australia, Japan, and Russia, but to the United Kingdom itself. As the "Economist" of April 16, 1898, observed:

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"The fact, that the United States is now able to produce pig-iron and some forms of steel cheaper than this country, is a serious menace to our foreign trade in the future."

Furthermore, there are indications that accumulated wealth is following in the track of industry. With France this proposition seems demonstrable. The outflow began with the war-indemnity of 1871, which, alone, may have tipped the balance toward Germany; and since 1870 the victors have continually squeezed the vanquished. Isolated and weak, France, with the instinct of self-preservation, has amalgamated with Russia, and, to strengthen her ally, has remitted thither the bullion which might have expanded her manufactures at home. The amount lent has been estimated at $2,000,000,000,—perhaps it is more. Certainly it has sufficed to vitalize northern Asia. Under this impulsion the Russian Empire has solidified, and mills and workshops have sprung up on the Southern Steppes; while Poland is becoming a manufacturing province. The Russian railway system is stretching eastward; it is under construction to Peking; and it is said to be projected to Hankow, the commercial capital of the great central provinces of China. Nor has Russia alone benefited. No small portion of this great sum has percolated to Germany, where the Russians have bought because of advantageous prices. Thus, yielding to a resistless impulsion, France is being drawn into the vortex of a Continental system whose centre travels eastward.

The United Kingdom, though untouched by war, has presented nearly parallel phenomena. The weak spot of English civilization is the failure of the Kingdom to feed the people. This failure not only necessitates a regularly increasing outlay, but throws the nation on an external base in case of war. A comparison of quinquennial averages, taken at equal periods since 1870, shows that, while the value of exports has regularly fallen, the value of imports has risen, until the discrepancy has become enormous; the growth of the adverse balance in twenty-five years having been 20 per cent. The following table will explain the situation:

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

TOTAL EXPORTS.			TOTAL IMPORTS.		
Periods.	Amounts.	Decrease.	Periods.	Amounts.	Increase.
1871–1875...	£1,197,512,196		1871–1875..	£1,510,099,864	
1881–1885...	1,161,429,669	3%	1881–1885..	1,682,727,419	10%
1891–1895..	1,134,770,481	2⅓%	1891–1895..	1,775,694,339	5%

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Last year the apparent deficit reached £157,055,000 (nearly $800,000,000); and the first four months of 1898 show a loss of £10,000,000, as compared with the same months of 1897. Nor does the mere statement of the figures reveal the gravity of the situation. The effect is cumulative; for, as charges grow, surplus income declines. However large a revenue the British may have drawn from foreign investments when those investments were in their prime, no one supposed it to be £160,000,000; and there can be no doubt that their income from this source has shrunk considerably. First, the interest rate is less than formerly; second, bankruptcy has wiped out many debts since 1890; third, there has been a heavy sale of foreign—especially of American—securities in London. Yet, in spite of such sales, many millions of gold have been shipped lately to New York; and bankers believe that many millions more are loaned in London at higher interest than can be obtained here. Most significant of all, perhaps, is the fact that Sir James Westland, the Indian Minister of Finance, inclines to ascribe the crisis in Hindostan rather to the withdrawal of English funds than to the closing of the mints. These facts tend to show not only that Great Britain is spending her capital, but that the flow of her money is toward America, as the flow from France is across the Rhine. Englishmen, it is true, having regard to the growth of their revenue, consider themselves most prosperous. They certainly enjoy a large surplus; and yet, perhaps, this elasticity is hardly reassuring. On analysis, the items of taxation which show the chief increase are the succession duties and the excise. The one is notoriously a socialistic measure; while the other indicates increased extravagance in drink.

Turning from the economic to the military standpoint, the altered attitude of Europe is at least equally impressive. Lord Salisbury once described the disease which devoured the Balkan country as "gangrene." The same gangrene is devouring all the Latin races. The aggressive energy of France is, perhaps, dead. Few now believe her able, single-handed, to withstand Germany; and this feebleness draws her toward that social system which promises at no very distant day to consolidate Northern Europe and Asia in a mass hostile to the interests of all external races. Such a consolidation, should it mature, must threaten not the prosperity only, but the very existence, of England. Should it prevail, her geographical position would become hopelessly excentric, and she would also be thrown upon the United States for food. At present there are but two localities where the wants of the British people can be certainly supplied: one is the coast of the Black Sea, the other that

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of North America. Under such conditions, however, the Black Sea would lie in the enemy's power; while the United States could probably close the St. Lawrence as well as her own ports. The support of the United States may thus be said to be vital to England, since, without it, if attacked by a Continental coalition, she would have to capitulate. Great Britain may, therefore, be not inaptly described as a fortified outpost of the Anglo-Saxon race, overlooking the eastern continent and resting upon America. Each year her isolation grows more pronounced; and as it grows, the combination against her assumes more and more the character of Napoleon's method of assault, which aimed to subdue an insular and maritime antagonist by controlling the coasts whence that antagonist drew its livelihood.

Unconsciously, perhaps, to herself, insecurity as to her base has warped every movement of England, and has given to her foreign policy the vacillation which has lately characterized it. This weakness has caused her to abandon Port Arthur, to permit Germany to occupy Kiao Chou, and to look with pleasure to an alliance with this country.

But, if the United States is essential to England, England is essential to the United States, in the face of the enemies who fear and hate us, and who, but for her, would already have fleets upon our shores. More than this, the prosperity of England is our prosperity. England is our best, almost our only, certain market. She is the chief vent for our surplus production; and anything which cripples her purchasing power must react on us. For years past she has been losing her commanding industrial position. Her most lucrative trade to-day lies with the Far East; and if she is shut out there, her resources will be seriously impaired, and the money she no longer earns cannot be spent for food. Moreover, in those regions the interests of the two peoples are identical. The Russians hardly veil their purpose of reversing, by means of railways, he current of the Chinese trade as it has flowed for ages, and of using rce to discriminate against maritime nations; but those who are exuded from the Eastern trade have always lagged behind in the race for e.

Approached thus, the problems presented by the Spanish War become ned. Competition has entered a period of greater stress; and comtion, in its acutest form, is war. The present outbreak is, probably, premonitory; but the prize at stake is now what it has always been ch epochs, the seat of commercial exchanges,—in other words, the of empire. For upward of a thousand years the social centre of ation has advanced steadly westward. Should it continue to ad-

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vance, it will presently cross the Atlantic and aggrandize America. If, on the contrary, it should recede, America may have reached her prime. In the future the conflict will apparently lie—as it has done in the past—between the maritime and the unmaritime races, or between the rival merits of land- and sea-transport. A glance at history will prove the antiquity and fierceness of this strife.

From the earliest times, China and India seem to have served as the bases of human commerce; the seat of empire having always been the point where their products have been exchanged against the products of the West. In the dawn of civilization, this point vibrated between Chaldea and Assyria; Babylon or Nineveh being the metropolis, as one or the other gained possession of the wholesale trade. The Phœnicians, on the coast, acted as carriers; and through them the shores of the Mediterranean were developed. As this development went on, the focus of affairs advanced to Carthage; and when Rome destroyed Carthage, exchanges passed from Africa to Italy, and the ancient civilization rapidly culminated. The law may, perhaps, be stated somewhat thus: In proportion as the Western races acquire the capacity for consuming Eastern products, the sphere of civilization expands, and the energy of centralization increases. Conversely, in proportion as the West has either lain dormant, or has lost the power of consumption, civilization has receded into Asia, and has there, in the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, created capitals, of which Nineveh, Babylon, and Bagdad may be taken as types.

Following this law, from the fourth century onward, as Italy, Gaul, and Spain sank into barbarism, and Byzantium herself came to resemble a fortified frontier-post, peddling at retail to hunters and shepherds, the wholesale trade receded to Ctesiphon, on the Tigris, where, in the early part of the seventh century, reigned Chosroes, the greatest of potentates. At this time the Eastern Empire reached its lowest ebb. Poverty paralyzed the Greek armies. Constantinople built no churches, erected no statues, illuminated no books, neglected her coinage, and forgot her arts. In 618 the Emperor Heraclius, a great soldier, so despaired, that he freighted a fleet with his treasures, and prepared for flight to Africa. At this moment of utter exhaustion on the Bosphorus, Gibbon has thus described the magnificence of Dastagerd, in the valley of the Tigris, the abode of the Persian king:

"Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace-gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves; the various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics were deposited in a hundred sub-

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terraneous vaults. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls; the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble and plated wood, that supported the roof; and the thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac."[1]

The peculiarity of the path of exchanges is that it lies east and west, not north and south. When Byzantium lost her Western market, the possession of Egypt or North Africa availed little. She became poor; and, as usual, poverty reacted on itself. The Greeks failing to protect their communications with Central Asia, Chosroes first succeeded in blocking the caravan routes, and then in invading Syria and Egypt and occupying their ports. When he had thus isolated his enemy, he had no difficulty in keeping an army at Chalcedon for ten years, in sight of St. Sophia. Had the Persians then commanded the sea, they would surely have succeeded where Artaxerxes had failed centuries before at Salamis. Certainly in the time of Heraclius the Greeks were harder pressed than in the time of Themistocles; and would in any event almost certainly have succumbed to the blockade had it not been for the advent of the Saracens. The Hegira occurred in 622; and the diversion was decisive. In 637 the Moslems sacked Ctesiphon, the Persian Empire crumbled, the ancient avenues of traffic were reopened, and exchanges began that long journey westward which has lasted till to-day. Constantinople was the first point in Europe to feel the impulsion. Her energy returned with her commerce; and by the ninth century she was again the seat of wealth and empire. Nevertheless her prosperity was ephemeral; fluctuating with that sensitive equilibrium which is the sport of war.

In the tenth century, as in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, the usual route from the Orient to the West lay up the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and across Syria by caravan; with the difference, that it reached the sea by Aleppo and Antioch instead of by Tyre or Sidon.

Accordingly, Aleppo and Antioch flourished, and served Byzantium as a base of supplies: yet they were Saracenic; and, in an evil hour, the Government of Romanus II determined to destroy them. In 961 the future emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, began a series of frightful campaigns. He utterly devastated the lovely valley of the Orontes; closing Syria to commerce, and forcing trade to pass through the Red Sea and the mouths of the Nile. Thenceforward cargoes changed hands at Cairo,

[1] GIBBON'S "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xlvi.

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not at Bassora; and the burden of the chronic war against the Greeks was shifted from the Caliphs of Bagdad to the Sultans of Egypt.

This stride westward made Cairo and Venice. Cairo became the seat of the wholesale trade; while the position of Constantinople grew geographically excentric. Moreover, Venice prevailed as a market. Egypt, though rich in luxuries, lacked material of war, which was abundant in Europe. Constantinople rejected such trade with her enemy: but the Venetians sold greedily; and, therefore, Oriental traffic ascended the Adriatic, while Byzantium shared the fate of Bassora and Bagdad. The Venetian marine grew with her commerce. By the middle of the eleventh century it commanded the Mediterranean; and, with the Crusades, Northern Italy received an impulsion which raised it to undisputed economic supremacy. In 1204 the Doge Henry Dandolo stormed the works on the Golden Horn, and carried home the accumulated treasure of five centuries.

Movement is the law of nature. Venice fell through the energy of the very maritime genius she had fostered. In 1497 Vasco da Gama discovered a cheaper route to India than by the Levant. The arrival of his fleet at Calicut was the signal for exchanges to pass at a leap from the Adriatic to the North Sea; prostrating Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, raising Antwerp and Amsterdam, and heaving up the great convulsions of the sixteenth century.

The last journey of exchanges westward began when Clive disturbed the existing social status by pouring into England the plunder of Bengal. Plassey was fought in 1757. In the process of readjustment, Napoleon attempted to strangle England, as Chosroes had tried to strangle Byzantium. He failed; but the equilibrium then attained after forty years of war now seems tottering to its fall.

Year by year since 1870, when France discovered symptoms of advanced decay, the gangrene has eaten deeper. Last year Greece passed into the throes of dissolution; this year Italy and Austria are in hardly suppressed revolution; while Spain is being dismembered, and in her disintegration has involved the United States in war. The United States thus stands face to face with the gravest conjuncture that can confront a people. She must protect the outlets of her trade, or run the risk of suffocation. Those outlets are maritime, and are threatened by the same coalition which threatens England. The policy of Continental Europe is not new. It is the policy of Napoleon and of Chosroes; for Russia seeks to substitute land- for water-communication. In a few years Peking, and probably the Yang-tse, will be connected with Moscow and Berlin by

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rail; and then entirely new conditions will prevail. At present Continental interests in China are trifling. The following table, from a French source,[1] may be trusted not to belittle them:

EXTERNAL COMMERCE OF CHINA FOR 1894.

Total, Fr. 1,216,000,000, distributed thus:

Country.	Millions of Francs.	Country.	Millions of Francs.
England	857	Japan	77
United States	108	Russia	51
West Europe	104	Others	19

This estimate placed the interest of the United States in 1894 at one-eighth of that of England, and at about one-eleventh of the whole; Russia's part amounted to only one-twenty-fourth; and France, Germany, and Belgium, combined, represented one-twelfth. In a valuable report just issued by Mr. O'Beirne, of the British Diplomatic Service, the trade of the United States with China is reckoned at "one-seventh of the entire trade of the Empire in 1896," as "more than 50 per cent larger than the German exports," and as having increased "126 per cent in ten years." England and the United States have, therefore, to-day a stake in the Far East more than six times greater than that of Russia, Germany, France, and Belgium combined.

Nor is the present the matter of chief concern. The expansion of any country must depend on the market for its surplus product; and China is the only region which now promises almost boundless possibilities of absorption, especially in the way of iron for its railroads.

Like other Asiatics, the Russians are not maritime. No Oriental empire ever rested on a naval supremacy. Phœnicians and Arabs alike failed to hold their own upon the sea; and, therefore, the path of commerce has been deflected north toward Rome and London, instead of continuing due west by Carthage and Cadiz. A century ago Gibbon pointed out that Chosroes failed, as Artaxerxes had failed before him, because of the weakness of his marine,—a weakness which contrasts with the vigor of the Greek, the Italian, the Dutch, and the English. The same flaw crippled Napoleon. Doubtless the difficulty of land-transport contributed to his fall; but how far that difficulty has been removed by steam is undetermined. Possibly the change has been radical enough

[1] "L'Illustration," of January 23, 1897.

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to permit an Asiatic race now to succeed, if backed by French capital, where the French themselves failed.

From the retail store to the empire, success in modern life lies in concentration. The active and economical organisms survive: the slow and costly perish. Just as the working of this law has produced during the last century unprecedented accumulations of capital controlled by single minds, so it has produced political agglomerations such as Germany, the British Empire, and the United States. The probability is that hereafter the same causes will generate still larger coalitions directed toward certain military and economic ends. One strong stimulant thereto is the cost of armaments. For example, England and the United States combined could easily maintain a fleet which would make them supreme at sea; while as rivals they might be ruined. The acceleration of movement, which is thus concentrating the strong, is so rapidly crushing the weak, that the moment seems at hand when two great competing systems will be left pitted against each other, and the struggle for survival will begin. Already America has been drawn into war over the dismemberment of one dying civilization; and it cannot escape the conflict which must be waged over the carcass of another. Even now the hostile forces are converging on the shores of the Yellow Sea;—the English and the Germans to the south; Russia at Port Arthur, covering Peking; while Japan hungers for Corea, the key to the great inlet. The Philippine Islands, rich, coal-bearing, and with fine harbors, seem a predestined base for the United States in a conflict which probably is as inevitable as that with Spain. It is in vain that men talk of keeping free from entanglements. Nature is omnipotent; and nations must float with the tide. Whither the exchanges flow, they must follow; and they will follow as long as their vitality endures. How and when the decisive moment may come is beyond conjecture. It may be to-morrow, or it may not be for years. If Russia and Germany can shape events, it will not be until their navies and railroads are complete. But these great catastrophes escape human control. The collapse of France might convulse society in an instant. Whether agreeable to them or not, economic exigencies seem likely to constrain Englishmen and Americans to combine for their own safety; and possibly hesitation as to their policy may be as dangerous as indecision in war.

Friends and enemies now agree that an Anglo-Saxon alliance, directed to attain certain common ends, might substantially make its own terms; but how it would stand, if opposed by a Power capable of massing troops at pleasure in the heart of China, is less clear. What is tolerably cer-

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tain, however, is, that, with the interior distributing-points well garrisoned, discrimination might go very far toward turning the commercial current against the maritime races. Supposing such discrimination to succeed, and China to be closed, the centre of exchanges might move east from the Thames; and then London and New York could hardly fail to fall into geographical excentricity. Before the discoveries of Vasco da Gama, Venice and Florence were relatively more energetic and richer than they. On the other hand, if an inference may be drawn from the past, Anglo-Saxons have little to fear in a trial of strength; for they have been the most successful of adventurers. They have risen to fortune by days like Plassey, the Heights of Abraham, and Manila; and although no one can be certain, before it has again been tested, that the race has preserved its ancient martial quality, at least aggression seems a less dangerous alternative than quiescence. The civilization which does not advance declines: the continent which, when Washington lived, gave a boundless field for the expansion of Americans, has been filled; and the risk of isolation promises to be more serious than the risk of an alliance. Such great movements, however, are not determined by argument, but are determined by forces which override the volition of man.

Should an Anglo-Saxon coalition be made, and succeed, it would alter profoundly the equilibrium of the world. Exchanges would then move strongly westward; and existing ideas would soon be as antiquated as those of a remote antiquity. Probably human society would then be absolutely dominated by a vast combination of peoples whose right wing would rest upon the British Isles, whose left would overhang the middle provinces of China, whose centre would approach the Pacific, and who would encompass the Indian Ocean as though it were a lake, much as the Romans encompassed the Mediterranean. BROOKS ADAMS.

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THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMISSION.

In a letter to Talon, the Intendant at Quebec, Colbert, always in advance of his time, expressed a desire to see friendly relations prevail between the colonists of New France and the "English of Boston." It was advisable, he said, that the two peoples should trade with each other, that the English should have the same privileges in the French fishery as they granted in their fishery to the subjects of France, and that they should be allowed to traffic with the Indians of Pentagouet (the Penobscot River region) to the same extent as they permitted the French to trade with the Indians round about Boston. Talon, in short, should do his best to arrange "un traitement réciproque" all round. On another occasion he observed that this was probably the only way to preserve peace on the frontier: and peace was most desirable; for it would be a grave business if France, with so many weighty cares in the Old World, were exposed to the risk of war on account of disputes between her colonists and their English neighbors in the New World.

England's position in North America to-day is quite as embarrassing in that respect as Colbert's. In the two hundred years that have passed, the English of Boston have become a mighty nation, the larger half of the English-speaking race, the community, above all others in the world, with which England,

> "Bearing on shoulders immense,
> Atlantëan, the load,
> Well-nigh not to be borne,
> Of the too vast orb of her fate,"

desires in her own interest to be at peace. But, owing to the friction continually arising between these powerful kinsmen and her present North American colonies, it is not always easy to maintain peace. With the exception of the Venezuela controversy, which soon subsided, all the disputes that have taken place between England and the United States since the Geneva Award, that is to say, in the last five and twenty years, have been disputes of Canadian or Newfoundland origin. One of Sir Julian Pauncefote's predecessors declared that, but for Ottawa, he would have had a sinecure. The points at issue, too, are, from the nature of

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the case, of little or no interest to Englishmen. More than once since 1818 war between England and the United States has been imminent because of a disagreement between Americans and Canadians over such distant and wholly unimpressive matters—so at least Englishmen must have considered them—as the right of a Massachusetts skipper to sail through the Gut of Canso in pursuit of mackerel, or to buy bait and molasses at a Cape Breton store. The Seal Question has been on the boards for ten years, and has led to the exchange between London and Washington of reams of vehement despatches; including the famous "shirt-sleeves" missive, which a generation or two ago would assuredly have precipitated war. Yet the aggregate tonnage of the British Columbia sealing-fleet, which is causing all the trouble, does not exceed 3,500 tons; while it is tolerably safe to say that, outside official circles, the merits of the controversy are not understood by a half-dozen persons in the United Kingdom.

The recent agreement between the United States and England for the appointment of an international commission to settle the various questions now at issue between the United States and Canada is characterized by a European diplomat as the "first-fruits of the close friendship that has sprung up between England and the United States since the war with Spain." Perhaps I may be allowed to add that Sir Wilfrid Laurier began paving the way for a commission when he took office two years ago, and that his efforts, and those of the Liberal party of Canada, to promote a more cordial understanding between the United States and England date even further back.

Canadian Liberals have always insisted that an increase of commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States would tend to do away with the controversies—petty but irritating, like a cinder in the eye—which grow out of the enforcement of a high tariff on each side of the boundary, or, to speak more correctly, out of the unneighborly spirit which Protection is apt to generate. If, they said, England's trade with Canada should suffer, as it most likely would, she would profit immensely by the removal of causes of difference with the United States.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's desire to see an adjusting commission appointed would have come to nothing, but for the support it received at Washington. Mr. McKinley may have been influenced by Britain's friendly attitude toward the United States in the present war: it is natural and proper, I suppose, that he should. But he hails from a border State, and, as a man of affairs, must perceive the worldly wisdom of cultivating better relations with a neighbor who, though only five millions

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strong, is now the third-best customer the United States has. One can fancy him saying: "The Republican party has taken a lot of trouble to extend trade with Central and South America. Why should we ignore Canada, a country which we can talk with by telephone, and reach by rail or water in a few hours, which last year bought more American goods, the product of American labor, than Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Chili, Colombia, Argentina, and the Central American States all put together?"

In his account of the causes which brought about the formation of the Prussian *Zollverein*, Ranke wrote in 1835:—

> "We should not have complained that all our markets were overflowing with English manufactures, had not England, while she was inundating us with her productions, insisted on closing her markets to ours. England told us we were to buy, but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals: we vainly hoped that a sense of her own interest would lead to reciprocity. But we were disappointed; and we were compelled to take care of ourselves."

Canada has been undergoing a similar experience. Not to go further back, in the ten years, 1888–97, she bought from the United States for home consumption merchandise of the value of $545,000,000. The duties amounted to $76,000,000, or about 14 per cent; a good proportion of the goods being free raw materials and food-stuffs. During the same period Canada's purchases from England were $385,000,000, on which $84,000,000, or over 20 per cent, was paid in duty. On the other hand, while Canadian exports to Britain have been steadily growing, amounting in those ten years to $580,000,000, Canadian exports to the United States, harassed by onerous duties at the frontier, have amounted to only $420,000,000.

Last year the Canadian people concluded that the time had come for a change. It was scarcely fair, they reasoned, to do most of their buying from a neighbor who, witness the Dingley Bill, was not over-willing that they should sell, to the neglect of the mother-country, whose markets are wide open to everything they choose to send. Beginning, therefore, on August 1 of this year, there will be a reduction in the Canadian tariff of 25 per cent in favor of British goods and articles from certain British colonies,—*i.e.*, such goods will pay rates of duty less by 25 per cent than the rates imposed on goods coming from the United States and other foreign countries. Economically speaking, this may not be a sound move. But there it is—the germ, perhaps, of a British *Zollverein*.

It is hard to make people believe that those who tax their wares up to the hilt are not animated by ill-feeling toward them. Americans, of

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course, bear no ill-will to Canada. When they think about her at all, they regard her as a country destined in the fulness of time to fall into the Union from sheer force of the law of attraction, and to be a source of health and strength to it; offsetting less desirable acquisitions which events seem to be thrusting upon the Republic. Yet, while none are more ready than Americans to strike back when they are struck at by the Tariff legislation of other countries, they do not make sufficient allowance for the feelings of those who writhe under their own heavy boots. There is no denying that Canadians have for years felt hurt at the treatment meted out to them by the Tariff Acts of Congress; and when the Dingley Bill became law, there was a well-nigh universal demand for giving British goods a preference. But if they wish to get the same tariff rate as Britain, to retain their export trade with Canada and to enlarge it, Americans can easily do so by being a little more liberal in their treatment of the Canadian farmer, lumberman, fisherman, and miner. They can lose nothing by making the experiment; for trade will not grow between the United States and Canada, or elsewhere, unless it is mutually beneficial. At present each Canadian man, woman, and child buys twelve dollars' worth of American goods annually—more *per capita* by a good deal than any other people on this continent. I do not suppose that the Commission will do more than make a beginning of Reciprocity; selecting a few articles, natural and manufactured, for reduced duties or for the Free List. But, as a matter of fact, there is nothing to hinder the American export trade with Canada from being augmented from $60,000,000 to $100,000,000 a year—nothing but the unwillingness or timidity of Americans themselves. Certain persons are raising the cry of "Canadian cheap labor," although surely it is demonstrable that the well-paid American artisan, with his energy and intelligence and elaborate machinery, and with the huge home market which enables the specialization of his labor and machinery to be carried to the extremest limits, is the cheapest producer in the world; reckoning cost of production, as we ought to do, by the cost per yard or per pound.

Mr. Blaine used to insist that Canada should be shut out of the United States market till such time as she elected to enter the Union: he was sure "the eagle would do well not to fatten the lion's whelp." It goes without saying that exclusion from the American market is a serious loss to Canada: it hinders, as nothing else could, the development of her resources, and the settlement of her vast areas of virgin land. Between exclusion from the United States market and the competition of French bounty-fed cod, Newfoundland, England's oldest col-

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ony, has been reduced to bankruptcy; and the British West Indies have suffered a like fate through exclusion from the United States market and through the competition of bounty-fed beet sugar.

But the loss is not all on one side. One of the earliest instances of harsh fiscal legislation was the refusal of the Romans to allow their transalpine allies to grow olives or vines. They did this to keep up the price of oil and wine in Italy. The old colonial policy of England, France, and Spain was based on the same sophism. But no modern statesman who looks into the thing can believe that his country derives nothing but benefit from a policy which impoverishes its neighbors. If Canada has suffered, manifestly the United States has suffered too in being deprived through all these years of just so many consumers of American iron, pork, and corn. As for the political effect,—Mr. Blaine's object apparently being to starve Canada into the Union,—it is a fact that the feeling in favor of annexation was more widespread in Canada during the life (1854–66) of the Elgin-Marcy Reciprocity Treaty than it has been at any time since. Of all people Americans have the best right to know how hateful coercion is to men of English blood. It has never been applied successfully to an English-speaking community, nor, for the matter of that, to any community worth having.

The Alien Labor Laws in force in the two countries will be considered by the Commission, with the view of reaching some satisfactory modification. It will be remembered that some years ago Congress passed an Act imposing a head-tax on immigrants, and excluding convicts, lunatics, and persons unable to take care of themselves. This law was favorably regarded in Canada, which often receives immigrants of an undesirable sort. But, when Congress went further and, in consequence of what had occurred in Pennsylvania,—where European laborers had been imported to take the place of strikers,—added a provision excluding foreign laborers and mechanics who, previous to embarkation, had entered into contracts to work in the United States, trouble at once arose at points like Buffalo and Detroit, where quite a number of Canadian mechanics were stopped and sent back. The Canadian labor organizations are affiliated with the labor organizations of the United States; and when non-union men were hired in Canada to supplant strikers in the United States, the inspector on the American side got a hint, and arrests followed. By and by an Alien Labor Law was demanded in Canada; and one was recently passed containing pretty much the same provisions as the American enactment. The man in the United States who hires over there to come to Canada is now treated as contraband.

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Both laws, however, are readily evaded. There is nothing in either to prevent an American or Canadian laborer from crossing the line to work, provided he makes his bargain with the employer on his arrival in the other country, and not before. At the same time much ill-feeling is caused by arrests. In some cases—as, for example, where a servant-girl, leaving Canada with her mistress, was stopped at the frontier on the ground that she had left under contract—the law has been set in motion by malevolence. American laboring-men complain of the French-Canadians who work in the United States in summer and return home in winter—a class known in French Canada as *hirondelles.* They admit that European laborers come and go in the same way. In Canada there are complaints against Italian navvies, who come from the United States to work on new railways, and return with their savings.

The dispute over the boundary between Alaska and the Canadian Yukon, which the Commission will endeavor to settle, has become an important one, owing to the Klondike gold discoveries. The United States having obtained title to Alaska by purchase from Russia, the boundary between Canada and Alaska is governed by the convention entered into between Great Britain and Russia in 1825. The Boundary articles of this convention are as follows:

"3. The line of demarcation between the possessions of the high contracting parties upon the coast of the continent and the islands of America to the northwest shall be drawn in the manner following:

Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54° 40′ north latitude, and between the one hundred and thirty-first and one hundred and thirty-third degrees of west longitude (Meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the one hundred and forty-first degree, in its prolongation as far as the frozen ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the northwest.

4. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood:

(*a*) That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

(*b*) That wherever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom."

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With respect to the interpretation of this description, it is asserted on behalf of Canada: (1) That the point of commencement is Cape Chacon, at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, in latitude 54° 42′ or thereabouts. The line does not begin from a parallel of latitude, but from a point on an island. (2) As to its course from this point, it is believed that a more consistent reading of the convention will be arrived at by omitting the words "called Portland Channel": for, to reach Portland Channel, it is necessary to go nearly due east from the point of beginning; and this channel does not reach so far north as the fifty-sixth degree of latitude. The line, accordingly, should run from Cape Chacon northward along Clarence Strait and Ernest Sound; reaching the continent at the fifty-sixth parallel on the shore of the narrow strait called Seward Passage.

It is thought the United States will claim that the line is to follow the parallel of latitude 54° 40′ due east to the entrance of the inlet called on the charts Portland Inlet; thence to follow that inlet and Portland Canal to its head; and thence in a straight line to the point which may be decided upon as the initial point of the boundary-line north of the fifty-sixth degree. On behalf of Canada it is claimed that, if the words "Portland Channel" in the convention are applied to Portland Canal on the present charts, the line, to reach Portland Canal, is not to go by Portland Inlet, but to the north of Wales and Pearse Islands. "From this last-mentioned point," that is, the point at which the line drawn according to the preceding portion of the description reaches the fifty-sixth parallel, the line of demarcation should follow the summits of the mountains alongside of and nearest to the coast, as far as the one hundred and forty-first degree of longitude. "The coast" here means the ocean coast; that is, the mainland looking toward the ocean, and not the shores of inlets.

It is believed that the contention of the United States in this particular will be that the shores of the inlets, however far they may run into the interior of the continent, are to be taken as the coast; and again, that on account of the extreme irregularity of the mountain ranges in that region, the tracing of a consistent line along the summits of the mountains parallel to the coast is impossible, and that, therefore, recourse must be had to the alternative line of the convention—a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, and ten marine leagues distant from tidewater.

Pending the final location of the boundary, the United States occupies the coast from the Lynn Canal to Portland Canal; leaving Canada

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dependent for access to the Klondike from the seaboard on a circuitous land-and-river route from Observatory Inlet or Alice Arm. The true commercial route to the Klondike is that *via* the Lynn Canal; and no doubt railway communication will soon be established from there to Selkirk and Dawson City, provided the two Governments can agree as to the bonding privilege.

The bonding system in general will be discussed: but the Commission is not likely to disturb the existing arrangement, which rests on legislation by the United States and Canada; the bonding provisions of the Washington Treaty of 1871 having, it is held, lapsed.[1] In the Treaty of 1794 between the United States and England it was provided that "no duties shall be payable on any goods which shall merely be carried over any of the portages or carrying-places on either side" of the boundary between the United States and Canada, "for the purpose of being immediately reëmbarked and carried to some other place." This was the germ of the bonding system. As the development of the two countries proceeded, the system grew more complex. Upper and Lower Canada, now known as Ontario and Quebec, had access in summer to the Atlantic by the St. Lawrence ports of Montreal and Quebec; but in winter they were cut off. This led them to ask for the privilege of using ports on the American seaboard in winter, which was conceded by the United States. Subsequently the Western States were allowed by Canada to send their products in bond by the Lakes and the St. Lawrence to Montreal, as well as to Oswego and Ogdensburg, and to bring goods from Europe and from the Eastern States the same way. In 1856, with the completion of American railways running to the boundary, the transit of goods in bond by rail from United States places through Canada to other United States places—States-to-States traffic—was permitted by Canada; while the United States permitted goods to be carried in bond from one Province to another through American territory.

A glance at the map will show that these arrangements were, so to say, forced upon the two countries by the physical configuration of the upper part of the continent. In winter, when the St. Lawrence is frozen, the nearest seaports to Montreal and Toronto are Portland, Boston, and New York. On the other hand, the Province of Ontario projects for four hundred miles into American territory; parts of it are that

[1] President CLEVELAND'S Message on Relations with Canada, August 23, 1888; and President HARRISON'S, on the Transportation of Imported Merchandise, etc., February 2, 1893.

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much south of a straight line drawn from the top of Minnesota to the top of Maine; the inhabited portion lies directly in the path of communication between Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan in the West and New York and New England in the East; so that, as the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee has observed, the traffic over the Canadian railways "has been of inestimable value to the New England States and of vast importance to the Northwestern States, and especially to Chicago."

The Michigan Central runs through Ontario on its way from the Detroit to the Niagara River. The Canadian Pacific runs through Maine and Vermont on its way from the St. Lawrence to its connections with Boston and to St. John and Halifax; in the West, subsidiary lines enable it to reach Duluth and Minneapolis from Sault Ste. Marie, and to penetrate through Dakota; whilst it uses an American line of steamers to convey freight from its British Columbia termini to San Francisco and other points on the Pacific. The Northern Pacific owns lines within Canadian territory, which have received a subsidy from the Manitoba Government; a line controlled by Americans runs from Spokane Falls into the Kootenay district of British Columbia; and the Great Northern enters British Columbia as far as New Westminster by a line from Seattle. The Canadian roads exchange freight and passengers along the international boundary with some thirty American railways. The bridges over the Niagara River, those over the St. Lawrence,—including the Victoria Bridge at Montreal,—and the tunnel under the St. Clair River form part of the network of intercommunication. The transportation interests of the two countries are, in fact, inextricably woven together along the whole length of the boundary from Maine to Michigan, and are rapidly becoming interlaced in the newer regions between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean.

It has been asserted that the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk—the Canadian Pacific more particularly—make a great deal of money out of their States-to-States traffic, and that, as they are not subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and have been subsidized out of the Canadian Treasury, their competition with American railways for that traffic is unfair. From a circular recently issued by the United States Treasury it appears that in 1897 5,350,000 tons of States-to-States traffic were carried by rail through Canada. I do not know what the aggregate interstate tonnage of all the railways in the United States may be; but obviously 5,350,000 tons cannot be more than an unimportant fraction of it. It turns out that all of it was not carried by the

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Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk: the Michigan Central, an American line, carried very nearly one-half. Published returns of the Canadian Pacific show that the States-to-States business done by that road in 1897 did not amount, all told, to more than 350,000 tons, the earnings from which, it has been pointed out, did not equal the sum spent by the Company in the purchase of American plant and material.

I cannot deal here with the construction subsidies paid to the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk, except to say that they have been seriously, though quite unintentionally, exaggerated by Senator Elkins. The answer of these two roads to the charge, that they do not observe the Interstate Act, is that they observe it on their American as well as on their Canadian lines as faithfully as the purely American roads, and are ready at any time to submit their books to inspection at Washington. One thing is tolerably clear: the American shipper is benefited by having access to the Canadian lines, or he would not use them,—from which we may conclude that the demand for their exclusion from States-to-States traffic is not put forward in his interest.

A revision of the agreement of 1817 respecting gunboats on the Great Lakes may be attempted by the Commission; and an effort will be made to establish joint regulations for the protection of fish in the Great Lakes and on the seaboard. Something will be done, too, toward getting rid, once for all, of the North Atlantic Fishery Question, which has for so long been a source of irritation. Canadians contend that, by Article 1 of the Treaty of 1818, Americans renounced forever the right to enter Canadian ports, except to procure wood and water, to obtain shelter, and to make repairs. Eminent American authorities, notably Senator Hoar, maintain that prior to 1818 no American vessels, whether employed in fishing or in commerce, had a right to enter a Canadian port; consequently everything stipulated in the Treaty in behalf of American fishing-vessels was a clear gain, favoring them above all other American vessels. But now, by the Canadian interpretation, these same fishermen are treated as if they had no part in the humane and liberal policies of later times.

For many years the British Government enforced the Canadian interpretation by her ships of war; American vessels being seized for entering Canadian ports for purposes other than those named, or for fishing, or preparing to fish, within the three-mile limit or within certain bays, or for hovering in Canadian waters without being in need of shelter or repairs, wood or water. But early in 1871, the Washington negotiations being at hand, England adopted a different view, and warned the

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Ottawa Government that, while the exclusion of the Americans "might be warranted by the letter of the treaty," it was, nevertheless, an "extreme measure, inconsistent with the general policy of the Empire." Canada, however, insisted on the interpretation, and placed cruisers of her own on the sea, except while the Fishery clauses of the Washington Treaty were in force, and her fish had free entry to the American market. When those clauses lapsed, she again began seizing American vessels; and things went from bad to worse until 1888, when the Bayard-Chamberlain negotiations took place. The treaty drafted at that time failed to pass the United States Senate; but a *modus vivendi* was established whereby on payment of an annual tonnage-tax American fishermen were allowed to enter Canadian ports to purchase bait, ice, seines, and all other supplies, to ship crews, and to transship their catch in bond to Canadian railways or to steamers bound for the United States.

This is how the matter stands at present. Aside from the meaning of Article 1, whatever it may be, Americans hold that, inasmuch as they permit Canadian fishing-vessels to enter American ports free of charge for bonding and all other commercial purposes, it is not fair for Canadians to refuse the same privilege to them,—more especially since Canadians concede it to the fishermen of the Miquelon Islands, whose cod receive a bounty, and whose country, France, levies prohibitory duties on fish, and performs no neighborly service at all for Canada. American fishermen contend, furthermore, that if the bonding system between the two countries is to be preserved, it must, at least, be administered equitably, and that they are as much entitled to bond fish as is the Ontario farmer to bond wheat or potatoes. The bonding privilege has sprung up since the Treaty of 1818, and must be held to supersede any restrictions in that venerable parchment. It is the firm belief of the American fisherman that the "cussedness" of Canadians in this matter is due to a belief that, if they continue to worry him, Congress will give them free access for their fish to the United States market in order to buy them off. He does not want to share in their in-shore fisheries, which they prize so much, but merely to bond in Canadian ports the fish he catches in the deep sea, so that he may save the time now lost in running to and fro between the Banks and Gloucester.

The Bering Sea Question is another topic on which the Commission will strive to reach an agreement. Congress has paid the amount ($470,000) awarded by Judge Putnam and Mr. Justice King as damages for the seizure by United States vessels of British Columbia sealers prior to the reference of the general case to the Paris Tribunal. The United

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States wishes to see pelagic sealing still further restricted, and, if possible, stopped. But the Canadian sealers cannot very well be prevented by the Canadian Government from carrying on an industry sanctioned by international arbitration. The sealers aver that, as it is, their industry is restricted to death. They are excluded from the three-mile limit along the coast of the United States in the North Pacific; they may not approach the Pribilof Islands within a zone of sixty miles; they may not use firearms of any kind in Bering Sea, nor rifles in the water-area lying north of 35° north latitude and eastward to the one hundred and eightieth degree of longitude till it strikes the water-boundary described in the Treaty of 1867, following that line up to Bering Strait, about 5,000,000 square miles. They are precluded from using nets and explosives in that area, and from taking seals in it in any manner between May 1 and July 31. Further, they may not take seals within a zone of thirty miles round the Kommandorski Islands, nor within a zone of thirty miles of Robben Island, Okhotsk Sea, nor within a zone of ten miles on any of the Russian coasts on the mainland in the North Pacific. Last, but not least, their sealskins are now excluded from the United States market. The only way apparently of putting a stop to pelagic sealing is to buy out the Canadian sealers, whose fleet, in consequence of these restrictions, has dwindled to fifty-four vessels, aggregating 3,400 tons.

EDWARD FARRER.

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY UNDER THE REIGN OF FRANCIS JOSEPH.—II.

As already shown, the compromise of 1867 did not reëstablish the *Personal-Union* of the old territorial system. On the contrary, by its provisions, the actual union between the two divisions of the Empire was maintained, and, with this union, that unity and uniformity of system as to essentials which had been introduced by Schwarzenberg. This was true in a still higher degree of each half of the Empire *per se*. Upon the whole, it may be said that the uniformity of government consummated under Bach has been maintained to the present day. In Hungary, indeed, the idea of centralization has been more strongly accentuated; while in Austria, despite the abolition of absolutism, questions of central importance are no longer submitted to the crown lands and their parliaments.

By reason of the compromise with Hungary, Austria proper on December 21, 1867, framed a new constitution in place of that of 1861. According to this new constitution, the Imperial Diet and the various federal departments at Vienna are empowered to exercise jurisdiction in the following matters and departments; viz., international treaties; Department of Army Reserves (these reserves in Austria, as in Germany, are recruited from the regular army); the Department of Finance; the Department of Direct and Indirect Taxes; the control and supervision of accounts; the national debt; money, weights, and measures; postal and railway systems; shipping; banks; sanitary legislation; laws affecting the national and civil qualification of citizens; the police system for the surveillance of foreigners, and the Department of Passports; the Census Department; religious affairs; the privileges of societies, and the right of public assemblage; censorship and copyright; the Department of Education; the Departments of Criminal and Civil Law; legislation affecting the organization of the courts and of the administrative departments; the administration of the laws affecting the general rights of citizens; and, finally, all affairs affecting the relations between the various crown lands of Austria. Although all other matters are controlled by the legislative bodies of the several kingdoms, lands, and municipal corporations, it will readily be seen that the power vested in the

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Central Government is incomparably greater to-day than it was formerly.

Furthermore, the constitution of 1867 guarantees the right of citizenship, irrespective of language or nationality. Austria proper, like Hungary, is to-day a constitutional state in the full sense of the term. It is true that the authority of the Imperial Council and the central departments at Vienna is still occasionally called in question in certain matters, —more particularly in such as pertain to education and religion. Upon the whole, however, the authority of the Austrian state is now generally admitted even by the Federalists. And the old Czech nobility, when, during the Hohenwart *régime* of 1871, they formulated their demands in the well-known "Fundamental-Artikeln," showed that they largely recognized the central authority of Austria. It is true that, with the adoption of a central constitution in Austria, and the reëstablishment of the Hungarian Parliament, certain names and appellations peculiar to the old territorial system were revived. These, however, were merely antique ornaments; the salient features of the new constitution being original in every particular.

The "Lander" (lands) of Austria may be compared to Prussian provinces; while the "Comitate" (counties) of Hungary may be said to resemble the French prefectures of Louis Philippe. Both have lost nearly all traces of the old territorial system from which they proceeded as members of the modern state. The Czechs and the old Conservatives of Bohemia will probably continue to intrench themselves behind their "ancient Bohemian state-rights" until they succeed in obtaining certain changes not incompatible with the interests of the modern state. They may even persuade an emperor to permit himself to be crowned King of Bohemia, as Francis Joseph was crowned King of Hungary. Yet I feel certain that by the time the Emperor Francis Joseph, or any of his successors, shall accept the crown of Wenceslaus (a custom which prevailed to the time of the Emperor Ferdinand), the Czechs, of their own volition, will have solemnly buried all traces of the ancient territorial system. It may be boldly asserted that the three Imperial Ministries and the two legislative bodies at Vienna and Pesth are to-day invested with far greater powers than those exercised by the Congress and the Supreme Court at Washington, by the Federal Council and Assembly at Bern, or even by the Federal Council and Reichstag of the German Empire.

The party strife which has agitated the country since 1860 arises not so much from the differences between the Imperial Council and the par-

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liaments of the individual states, as from the circumstance that these parliaments give a one-sided preference to the great landowners and to the so-called "educated classes"; thus giving free play to those who would manipulate the constitution in favor of Germanization, Magyarization, and plutocratic Liberalism. As already intimated, our continuous dissensions are not owing to dualism, nor to constitutionalism, but to the fact that the provisions of the constitution have been so carried into effect as to increase the power of the Anti-clerical Liberals in matters of education and religion, and to promote the movement in favor of the denationalization of the Slavs. Owing to the manner in which the new constitution has been interpreted, the equal rights guaranteed to all languages and nationalities in every part of the Empire, instead of being carried into effect throughout every section of the federal, state, and municipal departments, have virtually become a dead letter. This is the cause of the present crisis; the source of contention being the claims of the Bohemian language to official recognition.

All the elections to the Imperial Diet and the various Popular Assemblies from 1861 to 1896 were characterized by the desire to bring to the front the landowners, the capitalists, the so-called "educated classes" of Vienna, and the German bureaucracy with its scheme of Teutonization. The means employed to this end was the establishment of the electoral system known as the "Vier Kurien." In other words, all voters were divided into four classes. Only the great landowners holding fiefs from the Crown are eligible to Class A; and these are qualified to cast a disproportionately large number of votes. Class B embraces all the cities of the Empire, the population of which, both in the Teutonic and in the Slavonic districts, is composed largely of the German element. In Class C the Chambers of Commerce and Trade only are represented; and the preference is naturally given to the capitalists of industry. This class also is entitled to elect a large number of representatives. Class D represents the rural population, and elects its representatives indirectly, *i.e.*, by means of electors. In this way it is exposed to the influence of the bureaucracy, the landowners, and the "educated class." The plutocratic-aristocratic character is peculiar to all four classes. To corroborate this, we need merely mention that in Austria the electoral franchise is extended to those taxpayers only who are able to pay the comparatively high tax fixed by the Government. In consequence of this, the voters are composed principally of what we designate in Austria as "Zehngulden-männern" ("Ten-gulden men").

It is upon these lines that the political parties of Austria have been

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developed since 1860. These parties are divided into two camps, Centralists and Federalists. Upon the side of the Centralists we find the old-time bureaucracy of the Habsburgs, all the Liberal elements of the German population, all the great capitalists, who are principally Germans or Hebrews, the petty landed nobility (as a rule closely associated with the *bourgeoisie*), and, finally, the so-called Liberal landed proprietors. In the other camp (the Federalists) we find the entire Czech and Slav population, without distinction of class or party, the Poles of Galicia, the Slovaks, the Clericals of the German provinces,—who are supported by the Catholics of the rural districts,—and, finally, the Conservatives of every shade throughout the entire land.

While the Liberal-plutocratic constitution of 1867 has remained essentially unchanged in Hungary, it has been subjected to various modifications in Austria proper. When the Czechs, after an absence of nearly ten years, reappeared in the Imperial Diet in 1878, the maintenance of an artificially created majority on the part of the German bureaucracy and the German-Hebrew capitalists became an impossibility. Centralism began to totter; and its supporters soon realized that their Teutonizing tendencies and one-sided Liberal legislation would now find a check. In addition to this, the spirit of democracy had spread among both the German and the Slav elements of the population. In Bohemia, the so-called "Alt-Czechen" ("Old Czechs") of the *bourgeoisie*—for a long time under the leadership of Dr. Rieger—were now succeeded by the Radical party known as "Jung-Czechen" ("Young Czechs"), under the leadership of Kamarc and Kaizl. The characteristics of the latter party are decidedly those of the Bohemian Czechs, who may be said to be the modern Hussites of politics. Moreover, they are Democrats. Indeed, the spirit of democracy has spread wherever great masses of the laboring population congregate. Consequently, it is found in all great industrial centres—in Bohemia, in Vienna, and, indeed, among the more humble ranks of citizens everywhere. The laborers became affected by the social-democratic ideas imported from Germany; the rank and file of municipal voters became identified with the Christian-Socialist and the Anti-Semitic parties; while the latter were opposed to all aggregations of capital, Jewish or otherwise. The present leader of the Anti-Semitic party is the Mayor of Vienna, Dr. Lueger; and the leader of the Christian-Socialist party is the blue-blooded and decidedly Ultramontane Prince Alois Lichtenstein. Still another party, also radical in its tendencies, has recently been organized. This party, known as the "German People's Party," is under the lead-

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ership of Ritter von Schönerer; and its adherents are homesick for the new German Empire, toward which they would like to gravitate.

Finally, the tide of democracy could no longer be stemmed; and the President of the Ministry, Count Taafe, after vainly endeavoring for ten years to shape his course amid the flux and uncertainty of party-currents, was compelled to introduce universal suffrage. In this way 240 out of the 353 seats in the Vienna House of Representatives became subject to the vote of the commonalty; and the laboring population, as well as the small burghers of the cities, obtained a voice in the government, which had hitherto been in the exclusive possession of the landowners and the moneyed aristocracy.

The Taafe Ministry was, of course, overthrown; for, as soon as the new law was passed, party-lines disappeared, and the large property-holders throughout the country—Federalists, Centralists, and Liberals—at once united in defence of their common interests. Their victorious opposition resulted in creating the so-called "Ministry of the Coalition," composed of the German Liberals and the Conservatives. Its term of existence was brief, owing to the obstructionary attitude of the Young Czechs; and it was soon followed by the Badeni Ministry.

Count Badeni did not interfere with the "Vier Kurien," already mentioned, but added to these a fifth class (E), established on the principle of universal suffrage, and embracing the laborers and small burghers. Moreover, by the provisions of this new law, the landowners and capitalists were compelled, according to the system known as "plural voting," to cast their votes a second time. The tax-qualification of voters was reduced from 10 fl. to 4; and, as a result, the number of voters has increased from 1,700,000 in 1896 to 3,600,000 in 1898. The Diet was dissolved; and the first election under the new system, owing to the large popular vote cast in Class E, resulted in the complete overthrow of the Centralists and Liberals. On the other hand, the Anti-Semites, the Christian Socialists, and the Social-Democrats, under the leadership of Dashinski, made a triumphal entry into the Palace of the Imperial Diet at Vienna.

With this change in favor of democracy, the dominion of the Central Liberals of Austria was broken. Notwithstanding these more favorable conditions, however, the Government, although no longer dominated by the Conservative-Federalist majority in the Diet, is still virtually controlled by the Magyar Liberals, who, since 1867, have exercised a preponderant influence not only in Buda-Pesth, but in Vienna as well. The reason of this becomes obvious when we consider that

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the position of the Liberal Constitutionalists is far stronger in Hungary than in Austria. In the first place, the "Great Liberal Party" of Pesth has to contend against fewer obstacles. Among the non-Magyar peoples of Hungary there is none which, in point of solidarity and culture, may be compared to the Czechs in the heart of Bohemia, or to the Poles of Western Galicia. There is also a marked difference between the high aristocracy of Hungary and that of Bohemia or Poland. The magnates of Hungary, although largely Conservative in their tendencies, are thoroughly national in every sense of the word. They cannot therefore be counted upon as a positive factor of opposition. Furthermore, the differences of creed are far more pronounced in Hungary than in Austria; consequently a consolidated and popular Clerical party, such as exists in Austria proper, is out of the question. In Hungary, moreover, Protestantism (Calvinism) is one of the most powerful bulwarks of the Magyar Liberals. In Hungary, also, democracy is still in its infancy; so that the dominant Liberal landed proprietors and moneyed aristocrats have little to fear in this regard. The Liberal ruling majority has hitherto understood perfectly well how to suppress all manifestations in favor of democracy among the small farmers of Hungary and Croatia and among the laboring-classes. The Democratic "agitators" are compelled to sit for their photographs, which are sent into the various counties, where the district judges and their subordinates see to it that the originals do not further disseminate the evil seed of democracy. A Democratic peasantry and a Socialist laboring-class, such as at present exist in Austria under the leadership of the Anti-Semites, the Christian Socialists, and a few Socialists of Vienna, will be an impossibility in Hungary for some time to come. Hence we can understand why it is comparatively easy for the Liberal Centralists of Hungary to obtain a majority in Parliament.

The Magyar Liberals have never failed to take advantage of their superiority, which they have utilized in two directions: First, they have endeavored to exercise a preponderant influence in the politics of the Empire through the Department of Foreign Affairs; and, second, they have employed, and will continue to employ, all the means in their power to foment the dissensions between the Czechs, the Conservatives, and the Liberals of Austria, in order that Centralism may be upheld and Federalism crushed. It is an undeniable fact that the Hungarians have for the past thirty years exercised a decisive influence at the Royal Palace at Vienna. The Magyar Liberals have not ruled in Hungary alone: they have repeatedly controlled the affairs of the entire

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Empire, and have ever made capital out of the internal crises of Austria. In this regard, indeed, their success has been equalled only by their virtuosity.

It would be absurd to blame the Hungarians for their policy. So long as they attempt to govern in the Liberal sense, and endeavor to Magyarize Hungary, so long will they continue to side with the Liberal Centralists of Austria and to foment strife between the various factions of the powerful Conservative Federalists. As the Magyars prefer to be the hammer, it is merely the duty of the Austrians no longer to remain the anvil. It will be a hard blow for the Hungarian Liberals when the present strife between the political parties of Austria ceases to exist. For, as soon as the provision of the constitution guaranteeing the right of suffrage, irrespective of creed, language, and nationality, is carried into effect in Austria, Hungary will surely be compelled to introduce a similar measure; and thus, without any interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of Hungary, a peaceful policy on the part of the Imperial Diet of Austria will become, as it were, a powerful magnet, which will draw the nails out of the planks of the Hungarian Liberals. Such a change would by no means result in the downfall of Hungary: on the contrary, it would serve to promote her internal welfare, to establish a better understanding among her German subjects, and to increase her influence in the Orient. The influence of Liberal Centralism and Magyarism, however, would be destroyed forever.

Such has been the situation between Austria and Hungary for the past thirty years. The statesman who, in the future, would guide the destinies of Austria, must endeavor to develop constitutionalism, to reestablish internal peace, and to promote the leadership of the German element, which derives its intellectual sustenance from the whole German Empire. The paramount duty of this statesman, however, will be boldly to confront the Magyar Liberals; and this he can do successfully only under four conditions: (1) He must feel that in the person of the monarch he beholds the Emperor of Austria and not the King of Hungary; in other words, he must not attempt to intermeddle in Hungarian affairs. (2) He must be supported by a powerful and reliable majority in the Imperial Diet. (3) He must be able to convince the Magyar Liberals—and this with the sanction of the Emperor—that he can afford to disregard their customary threats. As regards the fulfilment of the last-mentioned condition, no chimerical optimism is required; for, in the long run, Hungary is far more dependent upon the union than Austria. For, even if Hungary should annul the Commercial and Tariff

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Treaty with Austria, the latter country would still be able to respond with retaliatory weapons far more formidable. She could, for instance, levy agrarian imposts, and restrict the facilities of transportation. Even should Hungary go to the extreme of carrying her threat into execution, and actually sever her commercial relations with Austria, the latter would still be far more powerful politically than a country like Hungary, divided by national, religious, and other dissensions of a most explosive nature. As far as the Hungarians are concerned, "Threats do not count." (4) He must carefully guard against a renewal of the strife over nationality and language, which is now being waged by the Czechs and the Germans of Bohemia and Moravia (it would be better to await a more favorable opportunity for settling existing differences).

Let us now inquire to what extent the four above-mentioned conditions may be practically realized. As regards the first—the assistance of the Emperor—we may feel assured that his Majesty Francis Joseph will not fail to respond to the call. Nor will his successors be likely to manifest any national preferences or prejudices; for the descendants of Francis Joseph will not be influenced by reminiscences of the ever-powerful Austrian leadership in the German Empire.

As to the second condition, it may be said that the election of 1896 resulted in a decided majority in favor of constitutional reform; and, although this majority did not remain intact, there is no reason why it should not frequently recur. A majority in favor of constitutional reform lies in the very nature of things in Austria; and we are all familiar with the old saying, "You may drive out nature with a pitchfork, but she will ever come back."

In regard to the third condition, it is impossible to say whether the fearlessness requisite to a successful defiance of Magyarism already exists. We may be sure, however, that, should the matter ever shape itself into a question of "to be or not to be," Austria would not be found wanting. Intimidation would then be at an end; and the Hungarian Government would cease to appoint, or even to demand, a term of settlement.

The fourth condition—in some respects the most important of all at this time—is the final settlement, or, at least, the temporary pacification, of the national dissensions generally, and of the controversy as to the Czech language in particular. In this respect also, our course is plain; indeed, a partial success has already been secured. In certain departments of the government the Bohemian language has already obtained official recognition beside the German. The Czechs and the Germans

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alike have their own elementary, secondary, and high schools. Moreover, as the laws affecting the equal rights of Czechs and Germans are not regulated by a majority of the Popular Assembly at Prague, but by an agreement of the representatives of two voting classes,—Czech and German, respectively,—a *rapprochement* between the two parties has already been effected. At present, the "apple of discord" is the method of carrying the provisions of the law into effect in Bohemia and Moravia. In this regard two courses are open: (1) Either both languages are to be employed equally by all officials; or (2) the country will have to be divided, according to the population, into three districts, viz., German, Czech, and mixed. Both systems are good. The main point is to bring about an agreement between the two nationalities as to the methods to be adopted. Such an agreement had not been secured when the recent political crisis set in. For a long time the Czechs have preferred the method admitting both languages to equal official recognition everywhere; while the Germans have favored the division into districts. The task before us, therefore, is to bring about an understanding between the leaders of both parties, and, in the event of this proving unsuccessful, to postpone a discussion of the question until some more favorable opportunity presents itself.

When Count Badeni was commissioned by the Emperor to renew the compromise with Hungary for the third time, he should have been extremely careful not to touch upon the Bohemian Language Question; for it was a foregone conclusion that the recent elections would once more inflame the national passions. Austrian parliamentarism arose in all its potency; and its angry mutterings began to be heard. The capitalist Liberals arose in a body, not only in German Bohemia and Vienna, but also in Pesth. The reason of this is manifest in view of the intensity with which the Anti-Semitic movement was being waged—an intensity evidenced in the adoption of the superscription "Juda-Pesth" instead of Buda-Pesth by the correspondent of one of Dr. Lueger's organs. For these reasons, Badeni, in order to effect the fourth compromise with Hungary in a parliamentary manner, would have been compelled, above all, to keep the Conservative majority in the Diet intact, and to guard against a renewal of the language controversy between the Czechs and the Germans. Instead of this, he scorned to avail himself of the newly won Conservative majority; he offended the Christian-Socialist and the Anti-Semitic party, which had driven the Liberals from the House, where they had ruled for thirty years; and he poured oil upon the fire by establishing a separate understanding

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with the radical Young Czechs, who, as a reward for their services, secured the "Böhmische Sprachenverordnung," a law making liberal concessions to the Bohemian language. In this way the latest complications arose. The German Liberals of Bohemia inaugurated the well-known "obstruction," which effectually crippled the movements of the recently elected representative body. The Conservatives and the Anti-Semitic Germans, on the other hand, remained perfectly passive, regardless of the desperate straits of Minister Badeni. The revolution in Parliament was followed by a revolt upon the streets; and the Ministry of Badeni was deposed.

Possibly, at some future time, I may discuss the new law introduced by Badeni, and the complications to which it gave rise. Here I merely wish to assert that the present ruinous parliamentary situation is due not so much to the new law itself—although this declares in favor of a dualism of language for officials—as to the manner in which this law was passed. It was entirely unnecessary to touch upon the language controversy again before reëstablishing the *Ausgleich* with Hungary; indeed, there was absolutely no justification for it. The new law was not passed in regular form, but was promulgated as a ministerial decree. This high-handed procedure gave offence to many; moreover, it was carried on without the knowledge of the Germans, whose party-leaders —Liberal, Conservative, and Democratic—should have been kept fully informed. Nor was the readiness with which the Young Czechs entered into the project likely to awaken confidence. After all, however, it may be said that the official introduction of the Bohemian language is at present of a very precarious nature, as it was not effected in due legal form. It was established by a ministerial ordinance; and what Badeni granted, another minister may annul.

It is difficult to-day to make any prognostications for the future. As Count Beust once aptly remarked, Austria is, in every sense of the word, "a realm of improbabilities.". Undoubtedly, our first duty is permanently to remove the language controversy. The provisional measure introduced by Freiherr von Gautsch in February last confined the dual system to Moravia, and advocated the above-mentioned division into districts for Bohemia. Certain it is, that should the obstructionary method recently employed be repeated, the Crown will be compelled to interfere in order that the majority rule in the Diet may be preserved. This may be done in two ways,—by an Imperial manifesto, or by a dissolution of the Diet followed by an appeal to the popular vote, in order that a new method of parliamentary debate may be introduced. In an

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extreme case, a parliament might be convened, not in Vienna, but in some other city of the Empire.

Whatever may happen, however, we may feel certain that neither the third compromise with Hungary nor the language controversy between the Czechs and the Germans will destroy the constitution of 1867. Upon the whole, the future internal development of Austria under Francis Joseph, or under the heir presumptive, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Este, will probably proceed upon the lines already indicated. As regards that provision of the constitution which guarantees equal rights to all citizens without distinction of creed, language, or nationality, I believe it will be dependent largely upon the situation in the Balkan States and also upon the progress of democracy.

What is still regarded as impossible abroad, and to some extent even in Austria itself, has been virtually accomplished during Francis Joseph's reign of half a century—Austria has become a constitutional state. In endeavoring to form an opinion as to the future development of Austria, we should bear in mind that there are powerful centripetal as well as centrifugal forces in the Empire of the Habsburgs, and that the marked differences of language, nationality, and religion are neutralized by a solidarity of interests. In the first place, the states of Austria must stand united against aggression from without. Then there are the growing influences of traffic, the concentration of capital, the growth of industry and commerce—factors that ever make for unity in the state. Furthermore, the great mass of the Slavs, like the Germans of Austria, are Roman Catholics, and not, like the Russians, members of the Greek Church. Indeed, nearly three-fourths of the entire population of the Empire belong to the Church of Rome; and her Roman Catholic subjects will always be faithful to Austria, if for no other reason than to oppose a possible introduction of the Greek orthodoxy, the prevailing religion of the Russian Empire.

Democracy also tends to obliterate differences of nationality, etc. The laborers and the more humble ranks of citizens generally are beginning to act as an independent body. They are no longer willing to serve as the tool of the wealthy and "educated" classes, whose interests are subserved by the maintenance of national discords. Finally, the political barriers which formerly separated Austria from Germany and Italy have been entirely removed; while to-day all Europe, with Germany, the greatest Power of Europe, at its head, is firmly determined to prevent Panslavism, arrayed under the Russian flag and the cross of the Greek Church, from reaching Prague, Agram, Laibach, and the Dalmatian Coast.

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In view of these incontrovertible facts, I once more hazard the assertion, that the present political tangles in Austria are merely episodes such as have frequently occurred, and are very likely to occur again. They are undeniably serious episodes, however; and, as a good German and Austrian, I sincerely hope that the present domestic discord will have ceased before the outbreak of trouble in the East, lest some catastrophe, some Oriental Solferino or Königgratz, may bring home the final solution of the question to the Hungarians in a manner they may not like.

When we consider that the domestic turmoil of the last thirty years is not yet ended, while at the same time affairs in the Orient are approaching a final solution, we are strongly inclined to say, with *Falstaff*, "Would 'twere bedtime . . . and all well."

ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE.

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NEW CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

MORE than a century ago, when the first compact of American union had proved inadequate to its ends, and the amendment of that compact by the unanimous consent of the Thirteen States was found impossible, our forefathers made appeal to a general convention. It was their last resort,—a drastic remedy, and yet the only one for the political ills which they suffered. Well might a minority of the people, still clinging to State sovereignty and the Confederate idea, have dreaded such a gathering; for from the throes of that general convention, which met at Philadelphia in 1787, there issued a new-born nation. There was in those days something ominous, something revolutionary, in the very word "convention."

Yet the convention of Philadelphia was a novelty, and continues such to this day. State conventions have since met to frame and submit new amendments, new constitutions; but no Federal convention has ever met again. Prior to 1787, and throughout the long and agonizing contest with Great Britain, the continental Congress had been for these United States the only real convention. Congress was the convention throughout that struggle; and the convention was Congress.

In a national sense, then, the convention of 1787 stands alone in our annals. Yet, during the long intervening years, America has seen that marvellous scheme of united empire extending its scope over a continental area and population such as the Fathers could scarcely have conceived. From thirteen original States in 1787 and earlier, this American Union has grown, in little more than a century, to forty-five States, and from a population of less than four millions to one of at least sixty-five millions. And yet, with all this wonderful increase in area and numbers, not only has revision of our Federal instrument been constantly wanting since that first completion of the convention plan by the States adopting it, which was formulated in the first ten Amendments, but, for specific improvement in the plan, there is absolutely nothing to show, save two casual corrections in detail, which, after the space of sixty years, were followed by the three famous "freedom" Amendments, written indelibly in blood of civil war.

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One might almost suppose that constructive statesmanship, in a Federal sense, ceased with the eighteenth century; but, when we turn to the experience of States and to State organic law, we are taught a different lesson. There we see the American political mind and American ingenuity still at work, and the spirit of organic change and improvement strong, constant, and irresistible. There we perceive new constitutional amendments, new organic instruments, proposed and adopted for States both old and new. Among the thirteen original commonwealths, Massachusetts alone preserves a constitution of earlier date than our Federal instrument; and even that is so patched with amendments that little of the original framework remains visible. From this State point of view we discover that, in ideas of practical self-government, America has advanced far beyond the age that gave birth to our Federal Constitution. Admirable, no doubt, was that common scheme, and highly advanced in humane ideas; and, in the general adjustment, as between State and Federal authority, as well as in the general poise of the three great departments, it can hardly yet be improved. Nor did the delegates who sat at Philadelphia show sound wisdom in any provision more than in that which allowed representation in the House of Representatives and in the choice of President to be shaped and regulated as opinion in the several States might conduct. For thus, as Mr. Bryce well observes, has a Federal scheme of government, through State regulation of the voting franchise, been gently moulded into a democracy, which equally well might have frozen into an aristocracy. But what our generation may claim, by way of criticising this famous instrument, is that States have developed organic improvements of practical detail to suit our modern society, which well deserve to be nationalized.

Thus, a century or more ago, all was "representation," and "representative government": we worshipped delegates, the Legislature. "Taxation without representation"—or, in other words, without the sanction of each colonial House of Commons—was the chief grievance that led to revolt against the mother-country. But our later achievement of independence has been to establish that all departments of American government rest fundamentally upon popular sanction, and that of these departments the Legislature is but one. Contrast, if you will, the omnipotence of our political representatives, as first sent timidly to Legislature or convention, to manage the cause for the people a hundred years ago, with representatives under the constraints of our present State instruments.

Take the Union through, to-day, and it is the *referendum* that gains

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constantly the upper hand. A hundred years ago suffrage and office-holding were much restrained throughout the Union on considerations of property, race, or religion: to-day there is scarcely a written disqualification placed upon the voter or office-holder in our States, except for crime or illiteracy. A hundred years ago the unfiltered choice of the whole people for President was deemed so dangerous a thing that a College of Electors was created, as the only rational alternative to a choice by Congress: department heads in a State, and State governors, moreover, were largely the choice of the legislators. To-day that Electoral College is a mere registering machine; while the people assume the right, besides, to choose all the high functionaries of a State, executive or judicial, as well as their representatives and town or county officers as formerly. A hundred years ago a constitution was usually set in operation by the State convention; but in these days it is very rare that any new State instrument, or an organic amendment even, does not take effect by the direct suffrage of the voters. Voters elect to the convention; and they pass upon the convention product afterward. A hundred years ago popular control of the third department, the judiciary, was forefended by appointment during good behavior, through Legislature or Governor: to-day the American rule—be it better or worse—favors a judiciary and court officers who shall be chosen at the polls for a fixed term of years. A hundred years ago the Senate, or conservative branch of the Legislature, was placed beyond the direct reach of the voter, as much as possible, by various ingenious devices: to-day the people choose public agents, in the one branch or the other, in every State. A hundred years ago Americans were lenient to their representatives, and trusted a delegated discretion to the utmost; but since then they have grown wiser than their servants, and not only incline to hamper legislation fundamentally, but, so far as possible for the public convenience, they wish to keep the Legislature itself adjourned and out of temptation. While thus our Federal instrument has yielded but little to structural reform for more than a hundred years, the restlessness, the spirit of change, the activity and anxiety of our American life, now find full scope in improving, if not in radically changing, State and municipal methods. From simply a republican people, we are fast growing into a confident and overruling democracy. And, not content with selecting our own public agents, we incline as principal to reserve some ultimate determination to ourselves in the public business.

I have said that no Federal convention, even for the merest revision of our general system, has met since 1787. But something like an ap-

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proach to such revision occurred in 1861, when leaders of the cotton States, experienced in national councils, undertook to organize at Montgomery a Southern Confederacy. In closely adapting the Constitution of the old Union to their united wants, they made various changes in the Federal mechanism, some of which we might, I think, judiciously copy. I shall not here provoke discussion of a cause overwhelmingly defeated, but merely emphasize, by such a reference, the fact, that a body of men, ripe in public experience, can hardly, in this modern age, apply their minds together to our Federal scheme, without discovering, from State example alone, some parts of that system that are worth amending.

In the very methods pointed out for organic change we see in that Federal instrument imperfection. The door of amendment for so prodigious a system of union may well prove difficult to open. Nor do I deem it so practical an objection as many do, that ratification of every Federal amendment by three-fourths, rather than by two-thirds, of the States is there enjoined; since experience shows that a basic change to which a decided majority of the States is once strongly committed will readily widen its impulsion to a greater number. But a more serious difficulty appears in the initiation of Federal amendments. Here, we find, there may be either initiation by States or initiation by Congress. Whenever two-thirds of the States, through their several legislatures, propose a convention, Congress must call it; and the danger then arises that from any plenary convention of the kind, not intent upon gaining some special end, there might proceed changes so crude, so numerous, and so incongruous, that the American people would run the instant risk of being launched, at length, into a worse rather than a better government. To this the alternative is, that Congress shall, by its own two-thirds vote of both Houses, propose specific amendments; and such, hitherto, has proved the only acceptable course for initiating organic change.

But how can we expect both Houses of Congress to unite readily by such a vote in proposing amendments, however salutary, which would cut down the patronage and influence of either branch? Should then, a convention be ever compelled by States under the former method, it would be well for those States in concert to frame concrete propositions of amendment carefully in advance, and for any Federal convention, moreover, to put forth propositions for a separate vote, so that all need not stand or fall together; for thus may the people, in passing upon the whole work, sustain the good and reject the bad. More than this, it would be well if our Constitution clearly authorized a limited general

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convention; and here we note that the Montgomery Plan of 1861 made it obligatory on the Confederate Congress, whenever a certain number of States concurred in proposing specific changes, to summon a Federal convention, which should consider and act only upon the specific proposals.

Now, to subject to criticism the first and chief topic alone of our Federal Constitution—the Legislature—our modern age may fairly ask, by way of specific change, that Senators of the United States be chosen in each State by the people of the State. Such a change would conform to general political usage at this day; and State voters may well feel that a fundamental right is denied them, so long as their representatives in either branch of Congress continue to be chosen otherwise than at the polls. That legislative practice, though originally commendable, proves pernicious in the course of a century.

We now see public opinion of a State, public preference among candidates, smothered in a State caucus far more cunning and hazardous than any nominating one which submits its preferences to the polls. The legislature that elects a Federal Senator is liable to secret and corrupt approaches; and the successful candidate for Senator—too often now-a-days a boss by inclination—strengthens presently his tyrannous disposition. His grasp upon the party tightens, through his new hold upon an ample share of the national patronage, until at length he strangles free expression, and citizens groan under the incubus of his hateful despotism.

Another objection is the collapse of legislative business wherever an exciting contest for Senator is pending. And even though a Federal Senator thus chosen should prove worthy—as many doubtless do—of the high station to which he is called, the choice by his State Legislature seats him at Washington, after all, without a real constituency: for the legislature which chose him, with or without trading, must soon pass away; and the men who composed it will be succeeded by others to whom he owes nothing and is not accountable. How different the responsibility, when State voters,—the mass of the community,—ever alert and only gradually changing, can, at the end of six years, if not sooner, call to account their immediate representative; steadying his course in the meanwhile, when emergency arises, by making him feel their pressure! Even now, little as we may hope to carry such an amendment through Congress for constitutional proposal by both branches, we may concentrate public attention upon senatorial candidates pending each new canvass for the legislature which chooses.

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Such an example was set in the famous campaign of Lincoln and Douglas in Illinois; and I recall the expression of one of our State constitutions, framed since the Civil War, which permits the people to vote their preference for United States Senator at the election of the choosing representatives, and declares that all such votes shall be tabulated and registered officially in the same connection.[1] By some such means, should no better remedy offer, our people may hope to circumvent, if not change, the written law of the Union, in years to come, as they have already circumvented the Electoral College in the choice of President.

Next, let us consider improved modes of Federal legislation. On all subjects within the scope of Federal authority, Congress may enact by the bare majority of a quorum in both Houses, unless the President chooses to arrest the measure at its final stage by his official veto. Such is and has always been the rule of our present Federal establishment. But this by no means conforms to later State usage, as shown in State constitutions. On the contrary, our American tendency is clearly to interpose—on some topics at least—greater barriers to legislation than the majority will of a bare quorum in each Chamber. The number of States increases constantly where the fundamental requirement for the passage of all new legislation, or at least of the most important part of it, is a majority of all elected to either branch. And, not to depend too much in a republic upon the Executive veto (a recourse which gains in popularity as time goes on, and yet might fail us), our State constitutions in various instances constrain the Legislature in its own original action by insisting upon a larger fraction than any mere majority to pass the measure. To apply such a rule in amending our Federal instrument, a two-thirds vote in each branch of Congress might perhaps be insisted upon, in borrowing and pledging the public credit beyond a certain limit, in changing the currency, or so as to restrain unlimited appropriations or the declaration of war. Under the Montgomery Constitution to which I have alluded, the Confederate Congress could not appropriate money, except by a two-thirds vote, unless the appropriation had been asked by an Executive department, or was for the expressed contingencies of Congress, or for some private claim already judicially established in the Court of Claims.

In no respect, as it seems to me, is it plainer that more than our present bare majorities of a quorum should be required than in such momentous legislation as disturbs our national equilibrium by admitting new States into the Union or by sanctioning the acquisition of alien ter-

[1] Nebraska (1875) Proposition, 2 Poore's Constitutions, 1235.

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ritory with an alien population. In the latter respect, we seem simply to have gone forward without clear warrant from our Federal charter at all. When President Jefferson gained by treaty the great Louisiana purchase, extending this Union by nearly half a continent, he candidly confessed his belief that a permissive amendment to the Constitution would be needful; but, yielding his views to those of his party friends, he made for these United States the first real precedent of foreign annexation by treaty. Public approval here resolved whatever doubts might have arisen; and the precedent was repeated, under Monroe as a successor, when Florida was purchased from Spain. Both acquisitions were peaceful and honorable; but, later in our history, the seizure of Texas and the dismemberment of Mexico marked a new policy of national greed and violence pursued under the delusion of a "manifest destiny."

Some have lately argued, that where an oligarchy of whites offers to this country a distant island, inhabited by a dusky race of natives, there should be no annexation without first ascertaining that the natives themselves wish it. I go still further, and contend that there ought to be no foreign annexation at any time, nor even the admission of a new State to the Union, without a *referendum* of some sort to the people of the United States, and their consent by a majority vote to such annexation or admission.

JAMES SCHOULER.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLICY OF RECIPROCITY.

WITH the possible exception of the Monroe Doctrine, there is no policy in the United States more popular in all sections than that of Reciprocity. Accepting the editorial utterances of the representative newspapers throughout the country as a true criterion of the sentiment of the thinking people of the States, Reciprocity knows no party. It is the equity of tariff legislation for the correction (to paraphrase Blackstone) of that wherein a high tariff, by reason of its universality, is deficient. In this sense it is a necessary complement to perfect Protectionism; for by its means we are enabled to relieve our exporters from the burdens of excessive foreign tariffs, and, in particular cases, to reduce the asperities of our own tariff, without sacrificing the general principle of the protection of our manufactures.

In the more liberal signification, every treaty of commerce contains some Reciprocal features. For example, the Jay Treaty (1794) between the United States and Great Britain provided for the equalization of tonnage duties. In the technical sense, however, a Reciprocity treaty between two countries is one conferring mutual and equivalent concessions as regards the customs duties of the respective parties.

RECIPROCITY WITH CANADA.

The first instance of such an American treaty, pure and simple, of which I can find record, is the Marcy-Elgin Treaty (1854) between the United States and Great Britain in behalf of Canada and Newfoundland. The products of the soil, forests, mines, and fisheries of the two countries were mutually admitted free of duty. Privileges of navigation were also mutually granted. This treaty went into effect March 16, 1855, by Proclamation of the President, and remained in force until March 17, 1866; being abrogated by the United States. It was generally claimed by our citizens that it proved far more beneficial to Canada than to the United States; but the chief grievance was that, after it went into effect, Canada increased to a considerable extent her duties on our manufactures.

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We have never since had a treaty of Reciprocity with Canada; although the Treaty of Washington (1871) contained a provision whereby Canadian fish were admitted into the United States free of duty, in return for fishery privileges extended by Canada to our fishermen. In this connection mention should be made of the treaty which Secretary Blaine negotiated in 1890 with Newfoundland, through the British Minister at Washington. It failed to receive the sanction of the Imperial authorities at London, because of Canadian opposition to it.

Reciprocity with the Hawaiian Islands.

With the exception of the Reciprocal Agreement with France of May 28, 1898, which went into effect June 1, 1898, by Proclamation of the President, the Reciprocity treaty between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands, which was concluded January 30, 1875, and went into effect September 9, 1876, is the only treaty of commercial Reciprocity actually in force on our statute-books. In its negotiation the United States was represented by Hamilton Fish; and the representatives of the King of the Hawaiian Islands were Elisha H. Allen and Henry Carter. By its terms the United States admits free of duty certain agricultural products of Hawaii, and particularly the grades of unrefined sugar known as "Sandwich Island sugar," besides syrups, molasses, and tallow. In return, Hawaii grants free entry to a comprehensive list of the products of the industry and soil of the United States, and stipulates that, so long as the treaty shall remain in force, she will not lease nor otherwise dispose of any port, harbor, or other territory, nor grant to any other nation the same privileges as are secured to the United States. The duration of this treaty was extended by a second convention, concluded December 6, 1884, and proclaimed November 9, 1887.

In Article II of the latter convention Hawaii grants to the United States the exclusive right to establish and maintain a naval coaling and repair station in Pearl Harbor, Island of Oahu, and to make needed improvements about the harbor.

Viewed purely from a financial standpoint, the treaty of 1875 is decidedly one-sided, and favorable to Hawaii. The balance of trade has been heavily against us. In 1875 we imported nearly twice as much from Hawaii as she took from us, and in 1897 three times as much. Moreover, our sacrifice of import duties on sugar has been out of all proportion to the value of our revenue concessions in the Islands. For the

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period 1887–1897 sugar comprised in value about 94 per cent of our total importations from the Islands. With a duty on sugar of 40 per cent *ad valorem* under the Wilson Law, the reader can appreciate the value to Hawaii of this concession.

But this is a superficial view. There are other considerations which put a different aspect on this Reciprocity treaty, and appear to the writer to fully vindicate it. In the first place, the relations between the United States and Hawaii have been exceptional, and foreshadow the ultimate annexation of the Islands by this country.[1] The engagement by Hawaii in the original convention, not to make any lease or sale of territory to a third Power, has been a safeguard against foreign encroachment. On more than one occasion the Government of Hawaii has repulsed the diplomatic advances of European nations because of the paramount rights and interests of the United States. Again, the provision in the Convention of 1884 regarding Pearl Harbor is a very valuable concession, from a strategic as well as a commercial standpoint. The harbor itself is an excellent site for a naval station, in fact, a key to the North Pacific. Since the outbreak of our war with Spain, however, there is no longer any diversity of opinion on this point.

Second, the exemption from duty of unrefined sugar from Hawaii has not been without compensatory results; for it has given an enormous stimulus to the sugar-refining industry in the West.

Furthermore, as a result of Reciprocity, the United States has for several years past secured about 92 per cent of the entire trade of the Islands, and has furnished about 78 per cent of their total imports.

The following table shows the growth of the commerce between the two countries since 1875:

UNITED STATES TRADE WITH THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Fiscal Year.	Exports (Domestic) to Hawaiian Islands from the United States.	Imports into the United States from Hawaiian Islands.
1875	$621,974	$1,227,191
1880	1,985,506	4,606,444
1885	2,709,573	8,857,497
1890	4,606,900	12,313,908
1895	3,648,472	7,888,961
1897	4,622,581	13,687,799

[1] Since this was written the Hawaiian Islands have been annexed by the United States.—ED.

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Reciprocity with Latin America.

The movement to extend our commercial intercourse with the countries of Latin America, by means of treaties of reciprocity in trade, had its inception in 1882, when an important treaty with Mexico was negotiated. This treaty never went into effect, however, for the simple reason that Congress failed to enact the necessary legislation. A similar treaty with Spain in behalf of Cuba and Porto Rico was negotiated in 1884 by Gen. Foster, our Minister to Spain. This failed of ratification by the Senate; and a treaty with Santo Domingo, arranged about the same time, met a similar fate. Nevertheless, the idea was in process of development. In 1884 President Arthur sent a commission to South America with instructions to visit the various republics, and initiate Reciprocity treaties on the same lines as those last mentioned. Out of the labors of this commission came the memorable International Conference of the republics of this hemisphere, which assembled at Washington toward the close of the year 1889. Fifteen of the seventeen republics there represented indicated their desire to enter upon reciprocal commercial relations with the United States; and the remaining two gave their conditional approval of the movement.

At this juncture Secretary Blaine came forward with suggestions for the application of the Reciprocity principle to the Tariff legislation, which were promptly embodied in the Tariff Bill of 1890, then pending, and constituted Section 3 of that Act.

Reciprocity under the Act of 1890.

This section, "with a view to secure reciprocal trade" with countries producing sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides,—all of which articles were made provisionally free of duty by the general terms of the Act,—empowered and made it the duty of the President, on and after January 1, 1892, whenever satisfied that any government producing and exporting any of the said articles was imposing duties on our agricultural or other products which he deemed to be reciprocally unequal and unjust, to suspend the free introduction of the said articles from the offending country; and thereupon the following duties were to be levied and collected:—On sugar, $\frac{7}{10}$ cent to 2 cents per pound (according to number); on molasses, 4 cents per pound; on coffee, 3 cents per pound; on tea, 10 cents per pound; and on hides, 1½ cents per pound. It was a brilliant

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and masterly piece of statesmanship; and Mr. Blaine's share in the work will do more to perpetuate his distinguished fame than any other act of his life.

Under the operation of the law the nations of Latin America came forward with gratifying alacrity; the procession being headed by the Republic of Brazil. Arrangements in Reciprocity were concluded, proclaimed, and became effective with the countries in the following table:

RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENTS CONCLUDED BY THE UNITED STATES.

Country.	When Concluded.	When Proclaimed.	Went into Effect.
Brazil	January 31, 1891	February 5, 1891	April 1, 1891
Santo Domingo	June 4, 1891	August 1, 1891	September 1, 1891
Spain (for Cuba and Porto Rico)	June 16, 1891	August 1, 1891	September 1, 1891
Salvador[1] (Provisional)	December 30, 1891	December 31, 1891	February 1, 1892
Germany	January 30, 1892	February 1, 1892	February 1, 1892
Great Britain (for British West Indies and British Guiana)	February 1, 1892	February 1, 1892	February 1, 1892
Nicaragua	March 11, 1892	March 12, 1892	March 12, 1892
Guatemala	December 30, 1891	May 18, 1892	May 30, 1892
Honduras	April 29, 1892	April 30, 1892	May 25, 1892
Austria-Hungary	May 25, 1892	May 26, 1892	May 26, 1892

[1] A definitive arrangement was made with Salvador on November 29, 1892, and proclaimed December 27, 1892.

Arrangements were also concluded with France and Costa Rica, but were never formally proclaimed. Nevertheless, in the case of France, dating from January 30, 1893, we obtained the benefit of her minimum tariff schedule on certain of our exports, such as lumber, canned meats, and dried fruits.

Under the above-mentioned Reciprocal agreements the United States secured, in consideration of our retaining sugar, molasses, etc., on the Free List, important concessions from the contracting nations. The Latin-American countries either removed or largely reduced their import duties on our flour, cereals, provisions, lumber, coal, implements, machinery, etc. Brazil, for example, gave free entry to a list of articles comprising, among others, wheat, flour, pork, fish, coal, agricultural and mining machinery, and railway material, and 25 per cent reduction of duty on another list, which included lard, butter, cheese, canned meats, lumber, and manufactures of cotton.

It will be noticed that Germany and Austria-Hungary appear in the list of countries which sought and obtained Reciprocal arrangements.

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Their large export trade in beet-sugar accounts for this. From Germany we obtained (1) the abolition of the prohibition of our hogs and pork products, which had existed since 1883, and (2) the same reductions on agricultural products as were accorded by Germany to Austria-Hungary and other countries. Similarly, from Austria-Hungary we obtained the "most favored nation" treatment for all our products.

I have referred to the conventions concluded under the Act of 1890 as Reciprocal "arrangements" or "agreements," rather than as "treaties." They were concluded by the exchange of notes between the Department of State and the Diplomatic representatives at Washington, and were terminated by the acceptance, "by direction of the President," of the schedules of concessions proposed by the foreign governments. The time and manner of making public announcement was then agreed upon; and the arrangement became effective at the date specified in the President's Proclamation. Secretary Blaine was assisted in these negotiations by Gen. John W. Foster, a diplomat of distinguished ability, who acted as a Special Minister Plenipotentiary.

President Harrison's Proclamations of March 15, 1892.

In the case of three countries, viz., Colombia, Venezuela, and Haiti, it was satisfactorily shown to the President that reciprocally unequal and unreasonable duties were imposed on our products; and, consequently, after repeated warnings to their Diplomatic representatives at Washington, it became the duty of the President to suspend the free entry from those countries of the articles specified in Section 3 of the Act of 1890, which he did by Proclamations on March 15, 1892. Venezuela and Haiti appeared to be indifferent; but the Colombian Minister made strenuous efforts to have the suspension removed, and to this end invoked the "most favored nation" clause in an old treaty (1846) between the United States and Colombia. In view of the excessive duties imposed by Colombia on our products, his claim was not allowed; but he continued to protest for more than a year.

Results of Reciprocity.

All Reciprocity agreements were repealed by Section 71 of the Tariff Act of 1894, and, therefore, for the most part, were in operation for a period of less than three years. Notwithstanding this, statistics eloquently prove the beneficent results of the policy of Reciprocity. For

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example, in 1891, United States exports to Latin America amounted to $90,000,000; in 1893 they rose to $103,000,000; and in 1895 they fell to $88,000,000. Again, take the case of Cuba. In 1891, our exports to Cuba were $12,200,000; in 1893, under Reciprocity, they rose to $24,150,000; and in 1895, without Reciprocity, they fell to $12,800,000.

Reciprocity was of immense benefit to our great milling industry, as the following figures demonstrate, viz.: In 1891, United States exports of flour were 11,300,000 bbls.; in 1892, 15,200,000; in 1893, 16,600,000; in 1894, 16,800,000; and in 1895, 15,200,000 bbls. Our shipments of flour to Cuba, Brazil, and Germany show a particularly large percentage of increase during the Reciprocity period. The increase of United States exports to Latin America during the same period represents a corresponding displacement of European products, as is proved by foreign official statistics.

The present Tariff Law, approved July 24, 1897, has developed the principle of Reciprocity still further, and greatly increased the possibilities of the extension of our foreign commerce. There are two sections of the Law dealing with the subject, viz., Sections 3 and 4.

Section 3, Tariff Act of 1897.

Section 3 contains two distinct features. The first part provides that "as soon as may be after the passage of this Act," the President is empowered to enter into negotiations with any country which exports to the United States any of the following articles, viz.: Argols, crude tartar, and crude wine-lees; brandies, and other spirits; champagne, and other sparkling wines; still wines, vermuth; paintings, and statuary.

In return for reciprocal and equivalent concessions, the President may by Proclamation suspend the duties now imposed on the above-mentioned articles; and the Act specifies, instead of these, certain reduced duties. For example, brandies which now pay $2.25 per gallon, will pay $1.75 per gallon; and paintings and statuary, instead of 20 per cent *ad valorem*, will pay 15 per cent.

Under this part of Section 3, negotiations, as will be noted, are limited to those countries which produce and export the above-named articles.

The latter part of the same section contains provisions, similar to those of Section 3 of the Act of 1890, for the suspension by Proclamation of the President of the free introduction of coffee, tea, and tonka and vanilla beans, whenever any country producing and exporting these

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articles imposes reciprocally unequal and unreasonable duties on our products. The duties provided for in the event of such suspension are as follows: On coffee, 3 cents; on tea, 10 cents; on tonka beans, 50 cents; on vanilla beans (according to quality), $1 to $2 per pound.

Reciprocal arrangements concluded under Section 3 become effective by Proclamation of the President, and need no ratification by Congress. In this respect they differ from treaties which are negotiated under the provisions of Section 4.

Section 4, Tariff Act of 1897.

Section 4 is a novel and far-reaching provision for the extension of the Reciprocity policy. Its field is the whole world; and it comprehends our entire Tariff Schedule. The treaties to be negotiated under this section must be made within two years following the passage of the Act, and must be ratified by the Senate, as well as approved by the House.[1] This latter provision is unique; but, of course, it in no way impairs the constitutional power of the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, to make any treaty. These Reciprocity treaties may provide, during a specified period not exceeding five years, for: (1) The reduction of the duties imposed in the Act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent, on any articles from any foreign country; or (2) the transfer to the Free List of the natural products of foreign countries which are not the natural products of the United States; or (3) the retention on our Free List of articles now on that list.

In October, 1897, the President appointed Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary to represent him in the negotiations for Reciprocity under Sections 3 and 4 of the present Tariff Act. Few men in the United States are so well qualified for this important work as Mr. Kasson, who brings to his present duties the fruits of an experience of nearly half a century in legislation and diplomacy. He was Member of Congress for twelve years, and among other posts of honor and distinction he has held the following, viz.: Assistant Postmaster-General under Lincoln; United States Minister to Austria, and, later, to Germany; Delegate of the United States at the Congo Confer-

[1] The Act reads: "duly ratified by the Senate and approved by Congress." Strictly this contemplates an "approval" by both Senate and House of Representatives; but it is difficult to perceive why the Senate should be required to approve by a majority vote what it has previously ratified by the constitutional two-thirds vote.

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ence; and Commissioner of the United States at the memorable Samoan Conference.

The Reciprocity Commission was organized and began its labors on October 18, 1897, in quarters provided by Secretary Sherman in the Department of State. Negotiations are now pending with several governments. The Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary consults frequently, in regard to their progress, with President McKinley, who, by reason of his wide familiarity with Tariff matters, has a keen appreciation of the needs of our commercial relations. Secretary Day is also deeply interested in the subject, and renders valuable assistance by communicating to the Plenipotentiary the latest information received from our Diplomatic and Consular representatives abroad.

The problem presented to the Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary is, how to obtain from each country seeking to conclude a Reciprocal arrangement the maximum concessions for our export trade in return for the minimum sacrifice on our part. Whenever a Diplomatic representative at Washington submits schedules of what his Government asks and offers, it becomes necessary for the Plenipotentiary to make a careful statistical examination of the values for some years past of the respective markets of the United States and of the country in question, and particularly to compute the relative values of the concessionary lists mutually proposed, by comparing the prospective concessions (considered as losses) in revenue on the part of either contracting party.

In a few instances there are certain grievances of the United States against foreign countries which have to be disposed of before we consent to consider Reciprocal arrangements. For example, one country may—ostensibly as a sanitary measure—have laid an embargo on our pork; another, on our cattle; still another may have excluded our life-insurance companies, or exacted discriminating freight-rates on our exports on railways operated by the state. The continuance of such prohibitions and discriminations has every appearance of being part of a studied policy of retaliation because of our Protective system. The government imposing these restrictions would naturally like to consider their removal as "concessions," in return for what the United States has to offer in the way of Reciprocity; but, on the principle of the old legal maxim, "No one shall take advantage of his own wrong," these grievances arise for settlement as conditions precedent to any Reciprocal arrangement. Nevertheless, however accomplished, the disappearance of these vexed international questions will be rightly included in the benefits accruing from Reciprocity negotiations.

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The only final Reciprocal agreement under the Act of 1897 thus far signed is with France. The negotiations to this end were initiated by Ambassador Patenôtre in October, 1897, and culminated in an agreement, on the basis of Section 3 of the said Act, which was signed at Washington on May 28, 1898, by Mr. Kasson on behalf of the United States and by Ambassador Cambon on behalf of the French Republic. It was proclaimed May 30, and went into effect June 1. By the terms of this agreement France admits at the minimum rates of duty the following products of the United States, viz.: Canned meats, fresh table fruits, dried and pressed fruits (excluding raisins), timber and lumber, paving-blocks, staves, hops, manufactured and prepared pork meats, lard and its compounds. With the exception of pork products and lard,—which are more important than all the rest of the list,—this schedule is identical with the list of concessions granted by France in the agreement under the Act of 1890, already referred to. The latest agreement affords especial relief to our exporters of pork products and lard, on which articles France recently imposed duties that proved to be practically prohibitory. The reductions secured to the United States on these products are as follows: On manufactured and prepared pork meats, from 100 to 50 francs per 100 kilos; and on lard and its compounds from 40 to 25 francs per 100 kilos. In return, the United States concedes to France the lower rates provided in Section 3 of the Tariff Act on the following French products, viz.: Argols (crude tartar, etc.), brandies and other spirits, paintings in oil and water-colors, pastels, pen-and-ink drawings, and statuary, and, conditionally, on still wines and vermuth. The condition of this last concession is, that it may be withdrawn at the discretion of the President of the United States whenever additional duties beyond those now existing, and which may be deemed by him unjust to the commerce of the United States, shall be imposed by France on products of the United States. Although contemplated by the Act, no reduction is made in respect to champagne and other sparkling wines.

It is possible that a more comprehensive Reciprocity convention may be concluded later with France on the basis of Section 4 of the Act of 1897.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE.

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THE FUTURE OF GREAT TELESCOPES.

SINCE the time of Sir William Herschel, no subject has more constantly occupied the attention of astronomers than the making of great telescopes. It is, however, only within the last twenty years that the efforts of opticians have attained practical perfection, and only within the last five years that astronomers have discovered how to utilize their instruments to the best advantage, by placing them in climates where the atmosphere enables them to perform to their full theoretical effect. That the atmosphere directly affects the definition of great telescopes, and that good air is as essential to definition as optical perfection itself, are facts which have been but very recently fully realized; and, as a consequence, we are only now beginning to utilize the optical discoveries of which this century has been so prolific.

For a long time after the explorations of Herschel, the reflector continued to be looked upon as the principal instrument for discovery. This was due partly to the fact that the reflector is capable of being made of enormous size,—it having been impossible before the time of Fraunhofer to produce large homogeneous pieces of glass suitable for lenses of refractors,—and partly because in Herschel's hands the reflector had achieved results of great value both to his own and to succeeding generations. Thus the influence of tradition—always very powerful, even in scientific circles—was in this instance augmented by the example of Herschel's unprecedented success, which, in conjunction with the difficulty of producing large lenses, gave the reflecting telescope the foremost place till after the middle of this century.

The completion of Lord Rosse's 6-foot reflector at Parsonstown, Ireland, in 1845, was the first important step toward an increase of power over that developed by the Herschels. This giant tube at once opened new views of clusters and nebulæ; some of the latter being resolved into stars. It appears, however, that the great mirror never gave good definition. The defect in definition arose partly from the difficulty of mounting the mirror so as to preserve its geometrical figure when turned into different positions, and partly from the tarnishing inevitable to speculum metal in a moist climate. Another irremediable obstacle was encoun-

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tered in the atmospheric difficulties which necessarily beset a telescope of such enormous aperture. Of these atmospheric difficulties I shall speak later on. Here it need only be said that the inferiority of the definition of Rosse's reflector is proved by the fact that the duplicity of many stars now known to be double was not noticed. Sirius, for example, was described as a large, blazing mass of light, "like a coach-lamp"; no trace having been seen of the companion afterward discovered by Alvan G. Clark with the 18-inch refractor of the Dearborn Observatory, and subsequently seen through telescopes with apertures as small as seven inches. At the time of Lord Rosse's studies the companion must have been separated from the large star by at least seven seconds of arc, at which distance it would be an easy object in a modern refractor of nine inches. After Rosse's experiment the next English effort to build a large reflector was that of Lassell, of Liverpool, who had also the foresight to transport his reflector to Malta, in order to obtain a clearer and more transparent atmosphere than could be found in the British Isles. His efforts were rewarded by the discovery of satellites of Neptune and Uranus, and the delineation of many important nebulæ.

Largely on account of the work of the Herschels, the reflecting telescope has always been a distinctively English instrument; and to-day Common and Roberts maintain the ancient tradition by the manufacture and use of large telescopic mirrors, with which they have obtained good results in work on nebulæ and other vague objects not requiring very sharp definition. Neither the silver-on-glass mirror, constructed and used at Paris, nor the large reflector at Melbourne has been very productive of new revelations; and, consequently, in recent years astronomers have practically ceased to look to reflectors for important discoveries. This change of opinion among men of science is due mainly to the development of the refractor by Fraunhofer about the middle of the first half of this century, and more recently by the famous American firm of Alvan Clark & Sons, who are acknowledged to be the foremost telescope-makers. The history of the making of great refractors by this firm is so well known and so fully illustrated by large instruments scattered over the country—veritable monuments to their genius—that I shall not recount even their most memorable triumphs. Moreover, details of these instruments have already been given to the readers of THE FORUM in an interesting article by Prof. Simon Newcomb.[1]

It is admitted by men of science that, in the hands of the Clarks, the

[1] "Recent Astronomical Progress," by Prof. SIMON NEWCOMB, in THE FORUM for March, 1898, p. 109.

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refracting telescope has come as near to perfection as it is possible to approach with the optical glass now available. Indeed, the marvellous instruments produced by American genius leave little to be desired, either as to size of glass or perfection of workmanship. Nor is the cost of production any longer very great. So fully are these facts realized in European countries that there is no contention abroad regarding the superiority of the Clark glasses.

Fortunately, American observers have shown themselves equally worthy of their country; and now the question of the existence or non-existence of difficult celestial objects is no longer debated by the *savants* of Europe, but is referred at once to Americans for decision. There are many large telescopes in this country which have rendered illustrious service to science: there are others equally powerful with which, for one reason or another, but little has been accomplished. The old Harvard 15-inch (Merz) refractor, the Dearborn 18-inch, the Washington 26-inch, the Lick 36-inch, and the Lowell 24-inch—the last four being Clark glasses—have each achieved just and lasting fame by discoveries which time cannot efface; and the Yerkes 40-inch may in time give results of very great interest.

It is now conceded that the three most powerful telescopes in the world are in America; consisting of the Lick, the Yerkes, and the Lowell. Each of these Clark glasses is admirable in workmanship; but it is known that the maker held the Lowell lens, which was his last great objective, to be the best piece of glass he ever worked. If three such telescopes as the Lowell, the Lick, and the Yerkes were located side by side, and, from an optical point of view, were equally perfect, it might be assumed that their power would increase with the size of their lenses. Such, however, is not the case, save in the one feature of collecting light; for it is found that relatively the atmosphere handicaps a large telescope more than it does a smaller one. As it is, the three telescopes in question are located in very different atmospheres. To make this clear, it is necessary to explain the effect of bad atmosphere upon the definition of telescopes.

About eight years ago the Harvard Observatory established a southern station at Arequipa, Peru, from funds left by Mr. Seth Boyden, of Boston, for "the prosecution of astronomical research in a mountainous region as free as possible from the impediments due to the atmosphere." No sooner had this observatory been established, and work begun with the 13-inch Boyden telescope, than Prof. W. H. Pickering discovered the remarkable difference between the seeing in Peru and that at Cambridge,

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Massachusetts. The Peruvian station is about 8,000 feet above the sea, in a climate almost always clear and excessively dry. It was found that the definition of the telescope there was at least 100 per cent better than it had been in Cambridge, and that, in consequence, objects could be distinctly seen and measured at Arequipa with that instrument which were invisible with it at Harvard. This clearness of definition was due to the great rarity and dryness, and the resulting superior steadiness, of the atmosphere on the Peruvian plateau.

The Harvard observers soon made a further advance of great importance. As the Arequipa Observatory is located near a deep gorge, which at night drains the cold air from the great mountains and plateaus higher up in the Andes, it was soon found by Mr. A. E. Douglass, that about two o'clock in the morning a cold current swept down the gorge; overflowing the Observatory, and destroying the definition almost immediately. This breeze is the cold (dense) air, which, according to known laws of the diurnal circulation, settles during the night, and, draining gradually from the mountains into deep ravines, finally acquires the volume of a torrent; descending like a stream of water. As this current was cold,—and hence denser than the air above the Observatory,—light coming to the telescope through it would have to traverse adjacent *media* of very unequal density; so that violent, irregular refractions would result. As the air is in motion, different portions of the current intercept the light of the star in different instants; hence the definition is entirely ruined. It was found that the stars which up to two o'clock in the morning had beautiful steady images, suddenly assumed hazy aspects like nebulæ; a condition aptly described by saying that they had "exploded"—that is, a star would appear to be a large mass of light diffused over the field of the telescope, instead of being condensed into a small point. One night, when the telescope was pointed on a bright star, Mr. Douglass happened to remove the eye-piece and to put his eye in its place. Looking toward the objective, he saw suddenly a number of fine lines of light flowing in the direction of the current. Repeated experiments during the past five years by Mr. Douglass, Prof. W. H. Pickering, Mr. Lowell, and the writer of this article have shown that these fine lines indicate a succession of small masses of air of irregular density illuminated by the star so as to be visible through the telescope. They flow along with the general movement, and may be called stream-lines in these larger currents of the atmosphere. The size of these little waves, as I shall call them for the sake of brevity, varies from half an inch to a foot in diameter; their form also varies; and, save in rare moments of calm, when there

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is no wind either near the earth or high above it, they fill the entire heavens.

Now these waves, which have been specially investigated at the Lowell Observatory, are found to have the most important bearing upon the definition of telescopes. As all the light from a distant star must pass through this mass of currents—fine, wavy streams in motion, now resembling a dense and violent snowstorm, now taking the form of interwoven lattice-work or woven-wire fence, and again recalling in appearance rippling water illuminated by the sun—it is clear that the light reaching the telescope has experienced in its passage through the air many irregular refractions; thus entering the instrument as a mass of confused and tangled rays. Moreover, it does not fall uniformly over the surface of the lens, but the waves, through which it has passed, cause it to be distributed in patches; the irregular illumination of the lens destroying the definition. For, according to the mathematical theory of lenses, and according to tests applied to objectives in Clark's laboratory, the light is supposed to fall uniformly over the whole surface of the lens; and when there is such a distribution of the light, a perfect lens focuses it all to one small sharp point.

In the actual heavens, besides illuminating the lens in patches, the air-waves also constantly divert the rays from parallel lines; and as each small portion or patch of the lens produces an image in the focal plane, many partial images are formed which are not correctly superposed into one perfect composite image. Thus, a star, instead of appearing sharp, becomes a confused mass of points heaped together, and constantly dancing as the waves pass in front of the great lens of the telescope.[1] The image of the star is thus blurred, like that of a stone seen in the bed of a running brook, or like an indifferent composite photograph sometimes made by having all the members of a class taken on the same photographic plate. The definition of a telescope in such an atmosphere is similar to that of images seen through the curly glass often put into the doors of office-buildings in our large cities—the glass being translucent, not transparent, only hazy outlines can be seen through it. So it is with the atmosphere in many places: the streams are constantly passing in front of the telescope; and the resulting definition is hazy and vague.

As this difficulty does not arise from either insufficient power or de-

[1] It is found that these small waves are the cause of the scintillation of the fixed stars, with which everyone is familiar. In passing before the eye the waves dart the light first one way and then another; spreading it out into a spectrum, which gives the colors noticed in twinkling.

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fective workmanship, it cannot be overcome by any improvement in the size or quality of lenses. It can be overcome only by selecting better locations for our telescopes, where the atmosphere is clear, dry, and, above all, quiescent; so that the glass can perform to the greatest advantage. Such regions are not to be found in Europe, nor in the eastern part of the United States. So far as known, they are to be met with in the northern hemisphere chiefly in our southwestern plateaus, particularly those of Arizona and New Mexico. In the southern hemisphere the best regions appear to be Peru and Northern Chile. The west coast of Australia also offers favorable conditions, although the altitude above the sea is not so great as could be desired.

Our recent studies prove conclusively that it is only by improving the locations of great observatories that a gain can be made in telescopic power; the more quiescent the atmosphere, the better being the performance of our great telescopes. Hence, it follows that, with a sufficiently good atmosphere, a large, but not abnormal-sized, telescope can accomplish more work and reveal more difficult objects than the largest instrument in the world if badly placed. For, in a clear and dry climate, which affords steady seeing, the number of nights on which an astronomer can work is much greater than in moist countries troubled with clouds; consequently, the working efficiency of a telescope is much increased. As the observer will have a proportionally larger number of nights which afford fine definition, the smaller telescope will have the advantage in disclosing difficult objects. Even if for a short interval the seeing where the giant telescope is placed should become equal to that at the better station, there is no guarantee that the observer who is accustomed to bad seeing, and constantly expects it, will at the moment of stillness be prepared to utilize the few precious moments to the most advantage. On this account, the chances greatly favor the success of the smaller telescope in the better atmosphere.

There is another drawback to a telescope of very large aperture,—and this applies also to larger reflectors, such as that of Lord Rosse,—namely, the larger the aperture the larger the number of waves included in the field of view; hence the worse the blurring of the resulting composite image. For example, a telescope of 24-inch aperture is two-thirds the size of one of 36-inch aperture; but the blurring in the two cases is in proportion to the areas of the two lenses, and therefore as 9 to 4 against the larger telescope. Thus it is clear that under given conditions a large lens will give inferior definition to a small one; and as a matter of fact we find, by experiments with apertures of various sizes, that when the seeing is bad a

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large aperture is a decided disadvantage. A small aperture, but one that is large enough to give the requisite amount of light, is to be preferred. Therefore it does not follow that an object which can be seen at all can be seen in the largest telescopes, even when the locations are equally good. Still less is this true when the larger telescopes are located in the worse atmospheres, as in the case of several observatories equipped with powerful instruments. As the waves in a bad atmosphere destroy the definition, they have the effect of temporarily damaging the working of the lens; and the result is much the same as if the figuring of the glass were faulty.

Consequently, it is sheer nonsense to infer that a big lens implies the most important discoveries. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Yet this idea is very generally held, and has only recently been abandoned even by astronomers. In order to be perfectly clear, I assert that large lenses are still desirable: indeed, we need some larger than any that have yet been made; but a need still more pressing is an atmosphere in which they can perform to advantage. As good atmosphere is just as important as good workmanship on the lens, the paramount question of the future is to find the best possible location for our great telescopes, if they are ever to show the most difficult objects.

Small wonder is it, therefore, that the Lowell telescope, with an aperture of only 24 inches, located in what is admittedly the best situation yet found in the United States, should have disclosed numerous phenomena which have not been seen elsewhere. Markings on the planets and satellites are phenomena which require transparency and, above all, *steadiness* of atmosphere; and the observation of close and unequal double stars is an equally severe test of definition. Both these classes of work depend on the power of contrast or delineation which the telescope may yield, as well as on the sight and energy of the observer; and, assuming that the observer has keen sight, and utilizes his opportunities to advantage, *steadiness* of the atmosphere is the question of supreme importance.

It is not my purpose in this paper to refer at too great length to the work of particular observatories; but the remarks of a critic with regard to recent work on Mars, that "the way to see the canals is to keep the eyes fixed on Schiaparelli's map during the day, and observe the planet in the telescope at night," call for some notice. It is only fair to say that it is a fundamental principle with all American observers to make their sketches quite independently of the work of previous observers. This is especially true of those who study Mars; since it is conceded on

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all sides that the maps of that remarkable planet are still far from being complete.

The incredulous observer above referred to does not tell us whose map the illustrious Schiaparelli used in discovering the Martian canals for the first time; nor are we given any more light on the equally interesting question relative to the maps used during the day to get the results recently found on Mercury and Venus, of which no maps for general use have been made. Though it is unnecessary at this early date to explain the cause of the streaks and lines shown to exist on Mercury, Venus, and the satellites of Jupiter, the well-known streaks on the moon will occur to thoughtful persons as closely analogous phenomena near the earth. These dikes or mountain-ranges on our satellite have been studied for nearly three centuries, and are still more or less of a mystery; though it seems fairly certain that they are volcanic outbursts from the interior. A similar explanation seems probable in the case of Jupiter's satellites, as well as of Mercury and Venus. As the work of Mr. Lowell and Mr. Douglass is perhaps the most classic which has yet been achieved in the study of planetary detail, it may be said to constitute a powerful argument for the theory, that the selection of a good atmosphere is paramount to the extraordinary size of telescope. The writer's discovery with the same telescope during the past two years of more than five hundred new double stars, including a number of objects more difficult than any that had been seen before, emphasizes this view by the logic of facts not easily to be set aside.

The work to be done by great telescopes may be condensed under the following heads:

1. The study and micrometrical measurement of the planets and satellites of the solar system.

2. The discovery and measurement of double and multiple stars, with the view of fixing their orbits.

3. The measurement of the parallaxes of the fixed stars, or the determination of their distances.

4. The study and delineation of the forms of nebulæ.

5. The investigation of the spectra of the fixed stars, nebulæ, and planets.

6. The determination of the changes of spectra, especially in the case of variable stars.

7. The determination of stellar and nebular motions in the line of sight, so far as our knowledge of the chemical elements and of the physical condition of the heavenly bodies will permit.

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8. The observation of variable stars at their epochs of minimum brightness.

Any one of these lines opens up an immense field of inquiry; and no one telescope could be advantageously applied to all at the same time. All the studies are facilitated by a good location of the telescope; and for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8 a steady atmosphere is absolutely essential. For photographic and spectroscopic work the steadiness of the air is less important than for visual work: but transparency is very essential; and this is usually to be found only in a region where the climate is clear and dry, and the air steady. Thus, it appears that most astronomical work with a large telescope requires a location which affords good seeing, and that such a location is decidedly preferable for all lines of research. It may be remarked that, for spectroscopic work, a large reflector, which collects a great amount of light, even if the definition be poor, may be very useful.

In our day it is a pity to have a large telescope, like that of the Naval Observatory at Washington, located in such a climate, because it can at best show only objects which are moderately easy, and new discoveries with it are well-nigh impossible; whereas, if it were placed in the high and dry plateaus of the Southwest, it would become one of the foremost telescopes of the world. The removal of this large telescope to a better climate is urgently demanded by every consideration of science. In like manner, it is recognized by astronomers that the present location of the 40-inch Yerkes telescope in the cloudy belt of Wisconsin must at least handicap its efficiency for the advancement of astronomical discovery. If such a telescope were located in the elevated plains of Peru, or in the high plateaus of Arizona or New Mexico, it might render a much greater service to the science of the stars.

A large telescope in the southern hemisphere is a most urgent *desideratum* of astronomy. The fixed stars and nebulæ over a large expanse near the south pole are but very little known; and this region, above all others, offers an extensive field for research. It is a singular fact that nearly all the great observatories of the world, like the civilized nations by which they are maintained, are in the northern terrestrial hemisphere; the southern stars below their horizons being thus correspondingly neglected. The finer objects of the southern celestial hemisphere are almost as little known to astronomers as are the wonders of the Antarctic continent to polar explorers. Perhaps the greatest future a giant telescope could have would be insured by its location in Peru or Northern Chile, where the visible heavens are least explored, and the climate, from an astronomical point of view, is one of the best known. T. J. J. See.

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OUR NEED OF A PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

In the affairs of nations tradition is a far more effective force than reason. This truth is one which the people of the United States in general are not very willing to accept; and yet it governs our destinies no less than those of other nations. Examples are not far to seek. The universal rule that a Representative in Congress must be a resident of the district for which he sits, rests, in most parts of the country, on nothing more respectable than an almost unbroken tradition. The same is true of the queer custom, which is firmly established in many places, that a nomination for Congress must be accorded in regular rotation to each of the counties composing the Congressional district. This custom is plainly correlative to the perfectly unreasonable but highly popular theory, that the fact of a man's having been a member of Congress is not a reason for reëlecting him, but the reverse; that it is the fair thing for him, after one or two terms in Congress, to stand aside and let someone else have a chance; and that, in short, public office is a good thing which ought to be passed round.

It is upon just such traditions that our entire lack of a permanent diplomatic service rests. But there is no reason for it. The prominent lawyers and able editors and successful manufacturers and eminent railroad magnates who every four years invade the White House, and crowd every corner of the office of the Secretary of State, would be the first to deride the notion that they could change places among themselves at a moment's notice,—that the editor could write the lawyer's briefs, or the manufacturer run the railroad. Every one of these men knows that, in his own business, training and experience are essential, if he is to avoid swift and scandalous disaster. Every one of them would decline, if offered the command of a battleship, and hesitate to command a regiment in active service. But yet, such is the force of tradition, that every one of them is serenely confident of his capacity to undertake business equally novel, often delicate and difficult, which must be conducted in a foreign country, and generally with people of whose very language he is wholly ignorant.

This singular self-confidence is plainly a survival of that theory

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of government—now happily passing away, although by no means extinct—which may be conveniently called the "backwoods theory." It is this: That every American citizen, without regard to education or experience, is just as competent as any other American citizen to fill any office whatever. The theory once, in some parts of the country, roughly corresponded to the facts. In the Pioneer days a man needed to practise almost every profession. He had of course to be something of a soldier, a surveyor, a farmer, and a physician. He might at the same time be also a judge, a shopkeeper, and a member of the Legislature. He would be expected to discharge the duties of sheriff, and to fill other like executive offices, if required. To such a man and his neighbors, the idea of a special training for one profession and of a life-long devotion to a single and perhaps narrow line of duty, would necessarily seem absurd. It would have been worse,—it would have been dangerous; for such training and such an existence would have utterly incapacitated a man for the life of the frontier.

The type of American which these conditions bred was Andrew Jackson; and in his time the theory, that education and experience were of no value in public life, first became an efficient factor in the development of the country. Before his time a different tradition—borrowed from British sources, and not altogether in harmony with the facts of American life—had prevailed. The men who had theretofore filled the great offices had been, as a rule, men of large landed property; they had also possessed refinement and cultivation; and they had all passed through a long apprenticeship. Every President since John Adams had held the office of Secretary of State. Every President, except Washington and Madison, had filled the highest diplomatic posts abroad.

But in fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, the force of the traditions derived from the mother-country had become exhausted. It was no longer thought fitting that the "landed gentry" should hold the offices. The Federalists and their doctrines had disappeared.

> "The generality of people did not feel the necessity of being taken care of by trained statesmen. . . . The masses saw in him [Jackson] a man who thought as they thought, who talked as they talked, who was a living proof that it did not require much learning to make a famous general or to be elected President, and whose example therefore assured them that every one of them had a chance at high distinction for himself."[1]

The theory that special training was not required for a successful career profoundly influenced American life. For a long time it affected

[1] SCHURZ'S "Life of Clay," vol. i, p. 331.

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all kinds of business and most professions; and it is only now that the daily increasing extent and complexity of our affairs, and the more intimate knowledge we have of what is accomplished in other countries, are banishing this notion with respect to private employments. Sixty or seventy years ago medical education was of the most rudimentary character. To-day many well-equipped schools, maintaining an exacting four-year course, attest, by the growing number of their students, the general conviction that long and thorough training pays. Legal education, in the modern sense, did not exist in Jackson's time. To-day hundreds of young men have become convinced that three years' theoretical study of the law is not too much. Forty years ago an American architect, returning from a course at the École des Beaux Arts, was told that there was no market for his wares in this country, and that we wanted not theorists and artists, but "practical builders." But that same architect lived to see the triumph of the most refined technical skill in the Court of Honor at Chicago, with his own work in the foremost place.

The same process has, to a certain extent, gone on in the public service. Thus we no longer disbelieve in the value of technical education for the army and the navy. In Jackson's time it was much the fashion in Congress to attack West Point. The Military Academy used to be denounced upon the grounds that it was an aristocratical institution, that it was unfriendly to the rights of the people, that its graduates stood in the way of promotion from the ranks and so blocked the way against military genius, and that it was a monopoly for the gratuitous education of the sons and connections of the rich and influential. It was asserted that officers could not be made in schools, but only in camps, and that, therefore, the whole cost of the education was thrown away, so far as military purposes were concerned. The same sort of talk was heard later, when the Naval Academy was established. Benton, who was always a leader in these attacks,—forgetful of the careers of Napoleon and Nelson,—triumphantly declared that the schools were useless, because all the great marshals of France had risen from the ranks, and the finest naval officers the world had ever seen had been bred in the merchant service.

There was not much heard of these arguments after the Mexican War. And the careers of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Lee, Johnson, and Stonewall Jackson ended opposition to the Military Academy; just as the exploits of Dewey, Sampson, Schley, Hobson, and the rest would suffice to end opposition to the Naval Academy, if it still existed.

In most other branches of the public service the advantages of special training are less obvious, and in them the "backwoods theory"

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still survives. That theory, it must be remembered, when applied to employment under the Government, denies not merely the value of technical training, but denies also the value of experience. Even sixty years ago, in private affairs, the old doctor, the old lawyer, and the "practical builder" were believed to be safer than mere beginners. But for an office in the gift of the President,—and especially for any office which requires residence abroad,—it has been the constant tradition of our Government, for more than half a century past, that education is useless, and experience a bar.

If we inquire why a practical nation has permitted so grotesque an anomaly in the conduct of its business, we shall probably find that this condition of things endures, first, because of the general belief that our foreign relations have, on the whole, been pretty well managed; and, second, because of a general popular misconception of the kind of work to be performed by our diplomatic agents. Whether our foreign relations have, on the whole, been well managed or ill managed, is a matter concerning which proof is impossible. The stern tests to which actual warfare subjects military and naval officers cannot be applied to diplomatists. There may be, and there usually are, two opinions as to every diplomatic transaction which is important enough to attract public attention; and it is just as open for one set of people to condemn the conduct of a particular affair, as it is for another set of people to applaud it.

No argument can therefore be fairly drawn from history, either to prove or to disprove the efficiency of our diplomatists. It is precisely like the question which used to interest people in our larger cities a generation ago, as to whether a volunteer fire-department was or was not a good thing. Nobody could prove, by any historical example, that a volunteer fire-department did not do its work well. In a sense it did excellent work. Its members were undisciplined, but were brave and enthusiastic. The arguments for a paid department were *a priori* arguments, based upon analogies more or less imperfect, and upon comparisons drawn from other like occupations. Fortunately, the *a priori* arguments carried the day; and discussion ceased when the experiment of a regular organization was tried.

In like manner, our volunteer diplomatic department, if it may be so called, has done excellent work on many occasions. Its successes are due partly to the inherent adaptiveness of American citizens; partly to our putting up our very best men for the really serious work; and partly to the extreme simplicity which has hitherto generally characterized our

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relations with foreign countries. But no opinion as to the general effectiveness of our methods is sound, if it takes into account only the great and exceptional triumphs of American diplomacy,—those conspicuous events, identified with the names of some of our greatest men, which still linger in the public memory. The acquisition of Louisiana, the acquisition of Florida, and the successive settlements of our recurring disputes with Great Britain are remembered; and these were among the most notable achievements of Franklin, of Jay, of Monroe, of the Adamses, of Clay, of Webster, and of Fish. That we can accomplish very considerable results when we put forth our whole intellectual strength, is a gratifying fact; but that such successes have on occasion been within our reach proves nothing as to the efficiency of our ordinary diplomatic machinery.

After all, what has enabled us, more than any other one thing, to get our foreign affairs tolerably managed, has been the simplicity of our business. With very few exceptions, our relations with other countries have been single,—that is to say, a controversy with one country has not usually involved the feelings, or the obligations, or the rights of any third nation. The watchful jealousies of the armed European nations, when they contemplate the partition of Africa or of the Turkish Empire or of China, have hitherto been quite unknown in our diplomacy. When we acquired Florida from Spain, our controversies were with the Spanish Government alone. When we took over from Mexico the immense domain embracing New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, California, and part of Colorado, we excited no fears abroad and awakened no hostilities. The adjustment of our northern boundary and the settlement of the "Alabama" claims with Great Britain affected none but American and British interests. And thus it has not been generally a very difficult undertaking for an alert American citizen, however inexperienced, to take up and conduct a negotiation with a foreign country; because the subject under discussion has almost always been a single question or group of questions, uncomplicated by the intervening interests of third parties.

Occasionally, however, we have found ourselves in deeper waters; and it cannot be said that our diplomacy has then proved itself always brilliantly successful. The negotiation of Jay's treaty with England in 1794 affords an apt illustration of the sort of weakness to which our lack of system exposes us, even in the hands of exceptionally competent men. The object of Jay's mission was to remove, as far as possible, the causes of the painful irritation which then existed between ourselves

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and Great Britain. The treaty which he signed made provision for the final withdrawal of British troops from our soil, for the settlement of claims, and for the ascertainment of a portion of our northeastern boundary. These were all matters in which no other nation had an interest. But Great Britain, in view of the war with revolutionary France, then recently begun, desired that the treaty should contain a set of rules to fix the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents respectively. This code, as agreed on, was naturally so framed as to benefit a belligerent with a great navy, and to be unfavorable to a belligerent that relied largely on privateering. In other respects, the treaty established a line of conduct for the United States as a neutral Power which was more or less beneficial to Great Britain and more or less injurious to France. Such a concession to the former was very likely a reasonable price to pay for the advantages we gained by the treaty; but it was a price that should certainly have been paid only with the fullest understanding of what their worth was to us.

It is apparent that the probable effect of such a bargain upon the French and Spanish Governments ought to have been clearly ascertained in advance; and yet, as a matter of fact, Jay concluded the treaty without the slightest effort to gain information on these points. In a properly organized diplomatic service, our representative in London would have been in close and regular correspondence with his colleagues in Paris and Madrid. But, as it happened, our Minister in Paris at that time was Monroe, who was strongly opposed politically to Jay; and there was no communication between them until after Jay's treaty had been actually signed. Monroe justly complained that he had been steadily kept in complete ignorance of Jay's proceedings, and that even after the treaty was completed he could get a copy only under conditions which made it useless; but he was so plainly trying to play his own game, and not to support his partner, that it is impossible to sympathize with his grievances. As for our representatives in Madrid, Jay never made any effort to correspond with them either before or after the completion of his mission. The result of such an entire lack of coöperation was inevitable. The French Government, being unable to get any authentic information, and finding the whole transaction shrouded in mystery, came to regard the treaty with bitter and probably unreasonable hostility; they declared that it was little short of an open alliance with Great Britain; and they began thenceforward to pursue a policy toward our trade which cost us millions and ultimately led to acts of war. As to Spain, the effect produced on that Government is not even now entirely

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clear; but it seems certain that the Spanish Government also became convinced that by the Jay treaty we had become allies of England, and that it dealt with us upon that assumption. To such mischances is amateur diplomacy exposed.

It is, therefore, probably fair to say, that if public sentiment has failed to condemn the present organization of our diplomatic service from a feeling that the work of the country has been on the whole well done, the popular judgment rests upon imperfect knowledge. The like ignorance affects the popular conception of the duties of a diplomatic agent. It is hardly a caricature of the general belief to say that he is supposed to spend his entire time abroad in futile and frivolous amusements,—his only serious occupation being to help travelling Americans to get introduced into foreign society. Most intelligent people would, no doubt, admit that any such view was absurdly wide of the truth, and that diplomatists did have important and laborious work to do; but even intelligent people generally fail to comprehend clearly what are the functions and duties of our foreign representatives.

Their essential function is, broadly speaking, to prevent or remove possible causes of misunderstanding between this and other nations, which, if left to themselves, might cause war. This function may be fulfilled in countless different ways not easily defined or classified, but all requiring much knowledge and experience, added to tact and capacity, and the most constant watchfulness and study of men and events. A diplomatic agent should be an unfailing reservoir of information as to the financial, political, and military condition of the country to which he is accredited. He should be ready at any moment to take up those friendly verbal negotiations with foreign Governments which are so immensely important. But he cannot well convey a confidential message, or put a delicate inquiry, unless he can dispense with the services of an interpreter, and unless he is thoroughly familiar, through an almost life-long acquaintance, with foreign modes of thought, with the personal peculiarities of the individuals he must meet, and with the forms of social intercourse that are locally considered important. He ought also to know, by actual experience, something of the workings of our own Government and especially of the Department of State. An agent who knows all these things can be depended on to speak the word in season, which every man familiar with affairs knows is indispensable in the management of important business.

The personnel of the diplomatic corps constitutes the machinery through which the Government must work in its dealings with foreign

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countries. The Secretary of State, if he is to accomplish large results, must feel that he can rely on the discretion, loyalty, and trained capacity of his subordinates, either as channels of confidential communication with other Governments or as sources of prompt and accurate information. He ought to have the same unquestioning confidence in them that the Secretary of the Navy, for example, feels in the officers under him. The whole force of the State Department and the diplomatic service must work as a unit, if complicated business, involving several countries, is to be successfully conducted. Individual capacity, however brilliant, will not do so much as the united efforts of experienced men working consciously toward one common end,—a truth which is evidenced in such diverse forms of human endeavor as war, railroading, the game of football, and the game of whist. Strict discipline and *esprit de corps* are the requisites of efficiency in any large body of men; and if we ask how these requisites are to be attained, the answer must be sought in the practice of other nations and in the conduct of other branches of our own service. The only secret of success in organizing and maintaining a body of zealous and efficient subordinates consists in selecting competent men in the first place, in weeding out with exact and obvious justice those who are incapable or unfaithful, and in punctually rewarding, by reasonable pay, by sure promotion, and by permanency of tenure, those who prove themselves worthy.

A permanent diplomatic service ought, therefore, as a rule, to be composed of men who enter it in the lowest ranks and who rise, through promotion, to the highest. None should be admitted who fails to furnish proofs of good character, as well as proofs of adequate knowledge. Every man admitted to the service should be required to pass a rigid examination in history and international law and political economy; he should be able not only to speak and read French perfectly, but—what is much more rare and difficult—to write it with ease and precision; and he should have a fair knowledge of Spanish and one or two other languages. He should be called upon to serve from time to time in the State Department, as well as abroad,—just as officers of the army and navy are detailed from time to time for duty in Washington. He should be ready to report for duty at the shortest notice in any part of the globe. Promotion should follow in regular course, but subject to examination at each step. Retirement from active service should be allowed for physical disability, and should be compulsory at a certain age. Above all, dismissal from the service should be permitted only as the result of a hearing, equivalent to the findings of a court martial. In a word, the

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way to obtain an efficient body of diplomatic agents is to treat them as we treat the officers of our army and our navy.

It may be said, as it used to be said of West Point, that this will produce routine officers, and will stifle original genius. Even if this were true,—the history of West Point has, however, abundantly disproved the assertion,—yet the nature of the diplomatic service is such that the evil could be readily corrected. The greater part of a diplomatist's work, like the work of most other men, may be described as routine. It is imperative that this should be thoroughly done. But at rare intervals a great emergency arises. A Treaty of Ghent must be concluded to end a war, or a Treaty of Washington to avert one. For such exceptional work a special commission can always be made up; and a commission will surely work better and more swiftly, if they are able to rely on the assistance of such an organized body of educated and experienced public servants as might so easily be established.

One bit of cant relative to the diplomatic service of the United States is perhaps worth considering. It is sometimes said that under our peculiar system of government it is essential that our foreign representatives should be in full political sympathy with the Executive. Probably no one would pretend that this rule ought to apply, if we once had a regular and permanent service organized like the army and navy. But even now the rule is not applied whenever an emergency requires the services of men exceptionally qualified. To go no further back than the present year, we find that when a deadlock had been reached in our Turkish negotiations, Mr. Straus was appointed our Minister at Constantinople, without regard to his well-known views on domestic politics. When it became necessary to select a Governor for the Philippines,—a post requiring high diplomatic capacity,—no one stopped to consider how far Gen. Merritt was in sympathy with the Administration. And when, during the present war, a vacancy occurred in the office of Assistant Secretary of State, no one asked what were the political convictions of Prof. Moore.

High and steady efficiency in the management of our foreign affairs has become imperative. It is no longer possible for us to trust to luck. Whether we like it or not, it is plain that the country is now entering a period in its history in which it will necessarily be brought into far closer and more complex relations with all the other great Powers of the world. The constant growth of our foreign commerce of itself counts for much. The end of the present war will not improbably find us in possession of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Ladrones, the Carolines, and

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the Philippines. If we seek to retain the latter, we shall not be met with the indifference that attended our retention of California. We shall become involved at once in all the jealousies and rivalries which the partition of Asia has awakened. We shall need all the skill we can command to avoid awakening the enmity of one or more of the five great Powers that are now manœuvring for the spoils of China. The acquisition of Hawaii creates many new points of contact with foreign countries. The construction of an interoceanic canal will probably require us to maintain a greatly increased navy, and to take permanent military occupation of the country through which the canal passes; and we shall thus have to face the same sort of serious questions that Great Britain has to deal with in Egypt. More than all else, our demonstration of commanding naval strength and skill makes us henceforward an ally or an enemy with whom every one of the other great Powers must reckon. Our friendship will be eagerly sought. We shall now and henceforth be looked upon as having cast aside our traditional attitude of isolation; and we shall be counted as a factor in all the great combinations of the world's politics. We can see already in the ostentatious friendliness of Great Britain the entirely new point of view from which we are regarded.

In taking our part in the great movements of the next century, and in dealing with the enormously difficult and important questions of foreign policy that are certain to arise, we shall need above everything to be adequately equipped for our task. Nothing short of the most complete organization which the experience of all nations can suggest, will serve for the work we have to do. We can no longer be content to build a new diplomatic machine after each Presidential election, and look forward to throwing it aside when it is just beginning to work with some degree of efficiency. Next to the establishment of a well-equipped and trustworthy army reserve, there will be no more urgent undertaking for this Government than the reorganization of its diplomatic service.

That there will be much opposition to any change, is to be expected; but to doubt that a change will be made, is to doubt the success of the nation in the new career upon which it is surely entering.

G. L. Rives.

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HOW A SAVAGE TRIBE IS GOVERNED.

To the ethnologist a savage is a forest dweller. In common conception the savage is a brutal person, whose chief delight is in taking scalps. Sometimes the sylvan man is cruel,—but even civilized men are sometimes cruel. Savagery is a status of culture to the ethnologist, who recognizes four such stages, of which savagery is the lowest. Some of the Indian tribes of America belong to this lowest stage; while others belong to a higher stage which is called barbarism. Wishing to show my readers how a savage tribe is governed, I must at the outset ask them to consider the savage not as a man of cruelty, but as a man who takes part in a regularly organized government, with laws that are obeyed and enforced. What, then, is a savage tribe, and how does tribal society differ from national society?

The nation, like the tribe, is a compound group of people; the distinction between them being in the method by which the grouping is accomplished. All the people of the United States belong to the national group. They are citizens of the nation, and, at the same time, are divided into forty-five groups as citizens of States. In every State there are counties; and the people of the State are citizens of one or other of these counties. Then, again, the counties are divided into precincts, towns, or townships. Sometimes towns are divided into school-districts, and cities into wards. And there are numerous villages. Thus the people of the United States are organized in a hierarchy of groups, from the school-district to the entire nation. The territory of the United States is divided into subordinate districts throughout the hierarchy; and there are at least four groups in the hierarchy, viz., the town, the county, the State, and the nation,—or the ward, the city, the State, and the nation. Every citizen of the United States, therefore, belongs to four different organizations in a hierarchy. He has a vote in each organization, assists in the selection of its officers, obeys its laws, and holds allegiance to its authority. This is all very simple; but the plan of grouping or regimenting people by territorial boundaries is of late origin. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were grouped by a very different method. History teaches that the ancient Greeks and Romans were grouped by a different

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plan. In fact, it has been discovered that, in the two stages of culture which I have called savagery and barbarism, a very different plan of regimentation everywhere prevails. This plan is known as tribal organization.

Tribal organization characterizes the two lower stages of culture; and savage regimentation differs from barbaric regimentation in some very important particulars.

In tribal society people are grouped or regimented in bodies of kindred. Let us first examine this grouping in the savage tribe. A savage tribe is composed of clans. Let us obtain a clear idea of what we mean by clan.

A tribe is a group of people composed of clans: a clan is a group of people having a common name. Suppose that a tribe springs from four persons, viz., a brother and a sister belonging to one clan, and a brother and sister belonging to another clan, and that each of the men marries the other's sister. Let us call one of our clans "wolf," and the other "eagle." The wolf-man marries the eagle-woman; and the eagle-man marries the wolf-woman. This is the first generation of a tribe composed of two clans; the man and his wife belonging to different clans. The four persons belong to two clans, and constitute two families. Let us suppose that each couple has four children, two boys and two girls. They will belong to two clans. The children of the wolf-mother will belong to the wolf clan, and the children of the eagle-mother to the eagle clan. This is the second generation. Then four people of the second generation and two of the first generation belong to the wolf clan; and four of the second generation and two of the first generation belong to the eagle clan. Thus we see that clans do not correspond to what in modern culture we call the family. The husband and wife belong to different clans; and the children belong to the clan of the mother. The mother, not the father, owns the children; and the husband is but the guest of his wife, not the head of the household.

Suppose that each man of the second generation marries a woman of that generation who belongs to a different clan, and that each pair has four children, two boys and two girls. These children constitute the third generation. The children belong to the clan of the mother. There are now three generations of people in each clan; and every mother claims her own children as members of her clan. The head of the family is the mother; but the head of the clan is the grandmother's brother. Always the elder man of the clan is the ruler of the clan; and the woman is the family ruler of her children. We may go on from the hypothetical be-

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ginning of a tribe through successive generations; and still the ruler of the clan will be the elder man of the clan and will govern not his own children and their descendants, but his sister's children and their descendants. We may therefore define a clan as a group of kindred people whose kinship is reckoned only through females.

A clan always has a name, which is called its totem; and the object from which it is named is in like manner called its totem. Thus, in the two clans which we have considered, the wolf and the eagle are respectively called the totems of the clan. The totem derives great consideration in savage society. It is usually some beast, bird, or insect, or some important plant, such as the corn or the tobacco; or it may be the wind, the rain, the dawn, or the sunshine. The totem of the clan is considered to be the progenitor or prototype of the clan. The people of the wolf clan claim to have descended from the wolf; the people of the eagle clan, from the eagle; the people of the wind clan, from the wind; and the people of the sun clan, from the sun. The totem is also the tutelar deity of the clan.

There grows up about the clan a singular set of rules and observances, which are rites, on the one hand, and prohibitions, on the other. The prohibitions are usually called taboos. Thus, the members of the wolf clan must not kill a wolf, as the killing of the wolf is tabooed to the clan; but if they see one they must perform some ceremony. The rites and taboos of the totem are universal in this stage of society, and are held as sacred obligations. One of these taboos is especially to be noted. A person must not marry into his own clan. The taboo is sacred; and its violation is a horrible crime, which, in some tribes, is punishable with death.

An individual is likely to have as many kindred through his father as through his mother; and he is also likely to have as many kindred through his wife by affinity as through his father and mother by consanguinity. All those persons to whom the clansman is related through his father and through his wife, together with all the members of his own clan, constitute the tribe. Thus in savage society we have families, clans, and tribes. We have still a fourth unit. Two or more tribes may unite to form a confederacy for offensive or defensive purposes, or for both. When a confederacy is formed, artificial kinship is introduced; and the tribes which unite agree to consider themselves related. If two tribes unite, the men of the tribes may consider each other as elder and younger brothers, or as fathers and sons, or even as uncles and nephews. Where many tribes unite to form a confederacy, relationships are distrib-

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uted to the members of the confederacy, but only after long conferences, where such questions are considered in detail. Thus we see that in tribal society men are not regimented or grouped territorially, as in national society, but are regimented by kinship, real or conventional, as the case may be: the same end, however, is accomplished in full, that is, the people are grouped in a hierarchy of units. Thus in tribal society men are grouped or regimented by kindred; and each person belongs to at least four groups of different grades in the hierarchy. Certain things are regulated by the confederacy; certain things, by the tribe; certain things, by the clan; certain things, by the mother of the family. In national society there is local government. In a democratic nation this is local self-government; and in a monarchical nation it is local government through officers appointed by the monarch. In tribal society there is group government; the questions of government being relegated to the several groups, and the elder-man of the group having authority.

In the course of generations some clans may die out, and the children be left without parents or grandparents: they must then be adopted into some other family. If they are adopted by a mother's sister they are still in the same clan; but if they are adopted by a father's sister they are considered as belonging to his clan, which is the same as that of his sister. It is thus that it sometimes happens that children change clans and, consequently, their totemic names.

When the men of a clan go out to hunt or fish, to make a boat or build a house, or to do any other work together, the oldest man of the clan is the director of the enterprise, the chief. All Indians hold that superior age gives authority; and every person is taught from childhood to obey his superiors and to rule over his inferiors. The superiors are those of greater age; the inferiors, those who are younger. It is the law of tribal society that superior age gives authority, and that inferior age imposes a duty. But the people of a tribe do not know their age; for they do not keep a record of time. How, then, can they carry out this law? Well, they have a very simple device, by which every person in the clan may know that he is older or younger than other persons in the clan. Besides the totem name they have kinship names. Thus, there is a name for "father" and another for "son"; and the son always knows that he is younger than the father, and must obey him. Similarly the father always knows that he is older than the son, and that he has the right to command him. The same is true of mother and daughter. But there may be two or more brothers; so they have two names for "brother," one meaning "elder brother," and the other "younger brother." In the same

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manner they have two words for "cousin"; one signifying "elder cousin," and the other younger cousin. They have also two words corresponding to uncle and nephew; but the word meaning "uncle" is always applied to the elder, and the word which means "nephew" is always applied to the one who is younger. Thus in the Ute language there are two words: *ain* and *aitsen*. *Ain* applies to the one who is the elder, whether he be uncle or nephew; and *aitsen* applies to the younger, whether he be uncle or nephew.

So long as the tribesmen live together in clans they have a simple method of keeping in memory their relative ages: for the names by which they address one another always express the difference in age; and it is a law in tribal society that one person must address another by a kinship term. He may *speak of* another by his totem name, or by any other name; but he must *address* another by his kinship name. It is always considered an insult to call another person of the same body of kindred by any name other than his kinship name. An American boy on the street may call his brother "John"; but an Indian boy in the woods must call his brother by one of the terms which show that he is older, or younger, than himself.

The oldest man of the clan having natural authority, according to Indian ideas, over all members of the clan is their chief; and this is the basis of the patriarchy. A clan is said to have a patriarchal government.

Sometimes the elder-man or patriarch or chief becomes old and imbecile; or there may be another man in the clan whom they suppose to have greater ability, and they conclude to make him the chief. In such a case the law is obeyed by a plan which lawyers term a legal fiction. The new chief is promoted; and then he becomes the grandfather of the clan. If his father is still living, he is compelled to call his chieftain son "grandfather"; if his elder brother is still living he is compelled to call the chief, "elder brother"; if his uncle is still living he is compelled to call the chief, "uncle." So, by this legal fiction, the chief is still the patriarch of the clan. Not only can a chief be promoted to the head of the clan, but from time to time different individuals in the clan are promoted over their fellows. A young man who proves himself to be skilful in fishing and hunting, or a brave warrior, may be promoted over his fellows, who thus become persons younger than himself and must address him as if he were older. Every year adds a new spike to the antlers of the stag. Some Indians call such a promotion the adding of a spike to a man's horns; other tribes speak of it as adding another

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stripe to his paint; and still others, as adding another feather to his bonnet. Sometimes a chief may prove to be a coward; then he will be deposed. Or an individual may disgrace himself; when he will be reduced in rank. When a man is deposed the Indians will say that his horns have been knocked off, or that his paint has been wiped off, or that his feathers have been plucked.

In a similar manner tribes and confederacies are governed by reckoning kinship in different ways, and making kinship by legal fiction. All such governments are patriarchal. It will readily be seen that such government is not possible in civilized society. What man can know the names of all the persons living in a county or a State; or who can learn all the names of the people who live in a city; and how can one trace out the kinship of the people of a city into clans? Tribal society, or kinship government, is therefore impossible in civilization, and is only possible where the group of people thus united in government is very small, and the members know one another as kindred.

I have already explained the adoption into other clans of infant children whose clan kindred have become extinct. Such cases seem to be infrequent; but there are other cases of adoption which are more common. Children, and even adults, captured in war are usually adopted into some clan. Our European ancestors observed a curious custom among the tribes of this country,—that of running the gantlet. A prisoner was compelled to run between two lines of his captors armed with sticks or other missiles. This was formerly supposed to be a method of torture. On investigation it is proved to have had quite another purpose. The prisoner was given an opportunity to show his mettle, his courage, and his ability to fight his way through a line of clubs. If he acquitted himself manfully, any woman among the captors might claim him for her child. Children ran the gantlet of children only; but adults ran the gantlet of men, women, and children. Female children were rarely submitted to this ordeal. The adoption of a captive was his new birth into the clan; and his official age dated from his new birth. If he proved himself skilful, useful, and especially wise, he might be promoted from time to time, until at last the captive might become a chief.

Captives taken from tribes that are hereditary enemies and between which there have grown historic feuds, and who are held to practise monster sins, such as cannibalism, are given a fixed status from their birth into the clan, which they cannot pass without promotion; for all persons naturally born into the clan may call them younger and have authority over them. This is the primal form of slavery: but by good

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behavior the rules of such slavery may be greatly relaxed; and captives from hated enemies may ultimately become promoted kindred.

A person may not marry another of the same clan; but usually he must marry some one of the tribe not in his own clan. Before the marriage-customs of the tribes of America were properly understood, a theory of endogamy and exogamy was developed by McLennan and others, which has played quite a *rôle* in theories of ethnology. There are a great number of languages spoken by the tribes of America; so that the terms used to signify the clan and the tribe are multitudinous. The earlier writers on marriage-customs in tribal society culled from the literature of travels a vast body of stories about taboos in marriage; and it was finally concluded that certain tribes required their tribesmen to marry wives who were foreigners and aliens. This was called exogamy. Then it was held that other tribes required or permitted their tribesmen to marry wives within the tribe; and this was called endogamy. So an attempt was made to classify the tribes of mankind, not only in America, but elsewhere, into two groups, the exogamous and the endogamous.

Now we understand that in all tribal society there is an endogamous, or incest, group, which we call the clan in savagery, and the gens in barbarism; while, at the same time, the clansmen usually marry within the tribe by regulations which vary greatly from people to people. It seems that the ties of marriage are used to bind different peoples together in one larger group which we call the tribe, and that the clans of a tribe may at one time have been distinct tribes; that when tribes become weak, or desire to form permanent alliances with other tribes for offensive and defensive purposes, such tribes agree to become clans of a united body, and by treaty confirm the bargain by pledging not to marry women within their own groups, but to exchange women with one another. "Give us your daughters for wives; and we will give you our daughters for wives." Such a bargain or treaty, enforced for many generations as customary law, ultimately becomes sacred; and marriage within the group is incest. Perhaps there is no people, tribal or national, which has not an incest group; so all peoples are endogamous, as all peoples are necessarily exogamous. The distinction set forth by McLennan proves to be invalid everywhere and among all peoples.

Among the tribes of America there are many marriage-customs establishing the group within which a person may marry. It may be that a man may marry within any clan but his own, or it may be that a man must marry within some particular clan. Sometimes there is a series of clans, which we will call *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, and *N*. A man of *A* must marry a wo-

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man of *B*; a man of *B* must marry a woman of *C*; a man of *C* must marry a woman of *D*, and so on; and, finally, a man of *N* must marry a woman of *A*. Tribes themselves composed of clans unite with other tribes also composed of clans; and in this consolidation into larger tribes there is found, in actual study of the Indians themselves, a great variety of regulations, all having the common feature of an incest group or clan, and further provision for bonds of friendship, which are perennially sealed by intermarriages. It thus happens that universally among the tribes of America marriages are regulated by customary law; and the parties married have no legal right to personal choice. Yet there are often ways established by which the clan confirms the personal choice. Though marriage is always regulated by the elders of the clan, yet they often consult the wishes of the candidates. There are three marriage-customs, springing up from time to time among the tribes, which require especial mention.

A young man and young woman may form a clandestine marriage and live apart in the forest, regardless of the consent of the elders of the two clans involved, until a child is born, provided that the taboo is not violated, that is, that the two parties do not belong to the same clan.

There is another custom which the exigencies of life frequently produce. The clan of the bridegroom may have many male candidates for marriage; while the clan in which their brides are found may have few eligible women. Then the young man may wish to marry a woman in some clan other than that in which his rights inhere. In such a case the wife may be captured; but the capture is always a friendly one. If the girl has other contestants for her hand, she must be won by wager of battle. The battle is fought as a hand-to-hand conflict, without other weapons than those furnished by nature.

A third custom is found, especially on the western coast of North America, where men buy their wives. This seems to occur in the case of polygamy, where the man who takes a second or third wife not only remunerates the woman's clan, but makes presents to certain persons throughout the tribe, who might have an interest in disposing of the girl in some other way. This seems to be the case in many tribes where "potlatch" weddings are observed; and it may be true in all.

The possession of property which is exclusively used by the individual, such as clothing, ornaments, and various utensils and implements, is inherent in the individual. Individual property cannot be inherited, but at death is consigned to the grave. Property which belongs to the clan, such as the house, the boat, the garden, etc., is common property.

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No article of food belongs to the individual, but is also the common property of the clan, and must be divided by the authorities of the clan, often according to some rule by which a special portion is given to the person who provides the food. Thus, when a hunter kills a deer, a particular portion is given to him; other portions may be given to those who assisted in its capture; and all the rest is divided according to the needs of the individuals of the clan. The women gather fruits, seeds, or roots; that which is consumed at the time is divided by like methods; but that which is preserved for future use sometimes becomes the property of the clan. The elder-man of the clan is responsible for the training of children; and it is no small part of his duty daily to exercise them in their games and to instruct them in their duties. Thus he who enforces clan custom is the same person who instructs in clan custom; and when councils of tribe or confederacy are held, he is the representative of the clan in such councils. The chief of the confederacy is usually the chief of one of the tribes; and the chief of the tribe is usually an elder-man in one of the clans. There are clan councils, tribal councils, and confederate councils.

The council is the tribal court and legislative body in one. All Indian life is coöperative; and all coöperative life is regulated by the clan, the tribe, or the confederacy. The clan hunt and the clan fishing expedition are regulated by the council; and when the clan or the tribe would move the site of its village, the council must so decree and regulate the matter. The council of the clan settles disputes between individuals of the clan; the council of the tribe settles disputes between clans; and the council of the confederacy settles disputes between tribes. Sometimes the members of the clan live separately by households; but often the clan will build a council-house for all its members, when the households will be relegated to distinct sections. It is curious to see the people dissolved into households at one time, and at another aggregated in clans. If the clan moves temporarily to a favorite locality, where roots or fruits are abundant in their season, the clan may dissolve into households and provide for themselves rude shelters of bark, brush, and leaves; but if the clan wishes to change its habitation permanently, it is likely to construct a new communal dwelling for the joint use of the members of the clan. Thus the clan seems to be the most permanent and most fundamental unit in the organization.

In the study of North American tribes it is always found that the purpose assigned and recognized for the organization of that unit is the establishment of peace. Two or more bodies go to war, and finally agree to live in peace and make a treaty; and the terms of the treaty are

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invariably of one character, if they unite as a tribe. This fundamental condition for the organization of a tribe is, that the one party agrees that its women shall be the wives of the other, with a reciprocal obligation. This is the characteristic which distinguishes tribes from confederacies. A body of people organized for the purpose of regulating marriage is a tribe. A body of people organized for war is a confederacy. Thus the organization of a tribe itself is the first recognition of the principle of peace in the origin of constitutions. The confederacy is always the unit of war organization. It is doubtful—in the present stage of investigation, at least—whether a tribe, as such, ever engages in offensive war. Confederacies become tribes by customary intermarriages, especially when the tribe becomes the taboo unit of intermarriage. It is thus that the three units, the clan, the tribe, and the confederacy, are variable from time to time, although at any particular time these three units can be distinguished as well as the family or household unit.

There are peculiar circumstances under which the household unit is variable. This variability depends upon customs which sometimes spring up among tribes, and are known as polyandry and polygamy. Sometimes the man who marries a woman is entitled to marry her sisters as they become of age. There are other conditions under which men become polygamists; but they are not very common in savage society. In the same manner, there are cases in which the women of the clan are few as compared with the men to whom they are due; and, hence, one woman becomes the common wife of several men. This is polyandry. It is not certain that polyandry has ever prevailed in an American tribe; but certain forms of polyandry are found elsewhere, especially in Australia, where the clan system has an aberrant development, doubtless due to the development of many tribes of the same linguistic stock, and to the spread of the same totemic clan largely over the Australian continent.

Another organization, which involves all civic relations, must now be explained. There is a body of men, and sometimes of women also, who are known as medicine-men or shamans, and sometimes as priests, who control all religious ceremonies and who are diviners. As disease is supposed to be the work of human or animal sorcery, it is their function to prevent or thwart sorcery. They have the management of all ceremonies relating to war, hunting, fishing, and the gathering of the fruits of field and forest. It is their office to provide with ceremony for abundant harvests, to regulate the climate, and generally to divine and control good and evil. The principal shamans are men; but all the people are united into shamanistic societies. Usually there is some determined number of these

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societies, over each of which some particular shaman presides; and he has subordinates, each one of whom has some particular office or function to perform in the societies. Sometimes a person may belong to two or more of these societies; usually he has the privilege to join any one: and a revered or successful shaman will gather a great society; while a shaman of less skill will preside over a society more feeble.

Let us call these societies ecclesiastical corporations, and the shamans priests. The way in which they are regimented and controlled differs from tribe to tribe; and there is a great variety of ceremonial observances. In all civic councils the ecclesiastical authorities take part and have specified functions to perform; and they introduce into civic life the ceremonies which they believe will produce good fortune. Perhaps the ecclesiastical authorities may be more powerful than the civic authorities, and the hereditary line of special ecclesiastical governors may gradually overpower the civic constitution and absorb it as a secondary element in the ecclesiastic constitution. For it must be remembered that the chief priests are men, and that the women play a very small part in ecclesiastic affairs. Now, as the men manage ecclesiastical affairs as chief priests, so civil affairs are managed mainly by men as elder-men. The conflict which sometimes arises between the two forms of government is mainly between men and men, or between able elder-men and able shamans: but sometimes both officers are combined in one person; and the great elder-man may also be the great shaman.

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THE REPETITION OF HISTORY IN OUR WAR WITH SPAIN.

THE thunder of American guns at the Philippines and Santiago is still echoing around the world—a warning-signal to tyranny.

It is but one of the many signs of the times; indicating to the most casual student of history that the close of the nineteenth century is another of those great epoch-making periods which, recurring centuries apart, influence the currents of human life, and, by uniting and giving force and direction to hitherto apparently diverse and irreconcilable conditions, move onward and upward toward a nobler and better existence for all men.

In the splendid victories at Manila and Santiago we are again reminded that history repeats itself. By these victories have been maintained the traditions of a great race of people who have been called masterful, aggressive, and belligerent; and, in truth, these faults we have, if faults they be. Without them we should long ago have been trampled under foot and exterminated from off the face of the earth.

We believe that the Anglo-Saxon stands, and has always stood, foremost for liberty, for the equality of men before the law, for the fullest freedom of thought and intellectual development, and all that is implied thereby. If in believing this we are conceited, then are we conceited.

Through what sorrow and suffering, through what long and terrible civil strifes, through what blunders, and, alas! through what crimes, the race has passed, history sadly records. But, however slow and painful the march, it has ever been forward, never in retreat. Profiting by hard experience, we have solved some knotty problems, and have gained thereby courage and confidence with which to attempt the solution of many difficult ones that remain.

In Spain we see these conditions reversed. Lying at the gateway of the nations, she could have commanded the seas; and Nature, with prodigal hand, has endowed her with a magnificent territory, overflowing with oil and wine, and producing the choicest fruits in tropical abundance. In Spain, also, are to be found, according to the best authorities, the grandest deposits of coal and iron, of copper and quicksilver, in

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the world. But all this has been of little avail. Spain's people remain among the most ignorant and downtrodden on the Continent; and to-day Spain is engaged in a perfectly hopeless struggle to retain a few shreds of that vast and magnificent colonial empire which she, with fatuous and monumental stupidity, has thrown away. She has persisted through the centuries in the impossible task of holding distant colonies by force of arms; utterly unable to comprehend that her own best interests would be served in their contentment and prosperity. Herein we see the difference in the spirit and genius of the two races. The Anglo-Saxon *can* learn a lesson; he does not commit the same blunder in the same place, over and over again, making it a crime: once is enough for him. Be it blunder or crime, however, it must be paid for; and if former Administrations blundered in the Cuban Question, we must pay the penalty.

In the light of the strained application of the Monroe Doctrine to a disputed boundary-line through a South American wilderness, the course of the United States Government toward Cuba seems inexplicable. We believe it would have puzzled Canning, who suggested the doctrine, and Monroe, who applied it. While taking no action itself, our Government would, of course, allow no other nation to intervene, however just and humane the cause. A protectorate is assumed over the western hemisphere. In the case of Cuba, however, it has failed to protect. This may be high statesmanship: it is certainly high enough over the head of the average layman. And until the "Maine" was destroyed there were eminent statesmen who continued to advocate non-intervention. It would seem that it required the sacrifice of hundreds of our brave sailors to arouse us to a sense of duty.

At last statesmen and diplomacy were swept aside. "A Power abune a'," as the Scotch say, has pointed the way: we must perforce follow it.

And the recent gathering of the fleets off the Spanish Main recalls another epoch, the greatest in modern history as regards its momentous and far-reaching consequences. It was when, a little over three hundred years ago, the same races—Anglo-Saxon and Spanish—joined in deadly battle on the stormy seas which girt Old England. The issue of to-day seems insignificant, compared with that which confronted England in 1588, when the "Invincible Armada" suddenly appeared off her coasts. Spain was then at the zenith of her prosperity; and Philip II, succeeding to the empire of Charles V, was the despotic ruler over a hundred million people, exerting a power and a controlling influence which almost dominated the rest of Europe, and which had not been equalled since the fall

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of the Roman Empire. It was this vast power that little England dared to defy, to the amazement of Europe, whose diplomatists pronounced her conduct "sheer madness." To comprehend the situation, we must recall the England of that period; and in doing so it is difficult to realize the enormous changes which time has wrought. We sometimes hear in these later days of the "isolation of England": but she has many children in many parts of the world; and they claim a heritage in her grand history.

Aside from racial affinity and a latent love for the old home, there may be other reasons why these children would not look with indifference on any diminution of her power and *prestige*. They might come to regard it as a menace to their own trade and commerce—possibly to their liberties. Surely it would be hardly prudent for any Power or combination of Powers to forget them in their calculations. But the England of Elizabeth's time was indeed isolated. This was before the Union; and Scotland, torn as she was by religious feuds,—always most disastrous,—was a source of weakness and apprehension. The population of England was about four millions,—not much more than half that of the State of New York to-day. The splendid empire that Clive carved out of the Indies was yet in a dim, distant future. In the great western hemisphere there were but one or two feeble germs of English settlements, struggling for a most precarious existence. It was a generation before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. William Penn and his gentle Quakers did not come till a century later. There were no great colonial commonwealths, there was no great republic to bring trade and wealth to her ports. She was poor: she stood alone, without a friend in the world except the brave Hollanders, in befriending whom she had incurred the wrath of the Spanish king.

For six months prior to the coming of the Armada the English Commissioners sent to the Netherlands had been engaged in the hopeless task of trying to negotiate a peace between those States and Spain. Some of their last letters, containing continued assurances of King Philip's peaceful intentions, were not received in England until after Spanish guns were thundering in the Channel. The Duke of Parma had been instructed to detain the Commissioners as long as possible in the discussion of preliminaries and the exchange of protocols: his *rôle* being to lull suspicion, and to delay, if possible, the arming of England till such time as the Armada should be fully prepared. To this end, in the mind of the "crowned criminal" of the Escurial, the assassin of William the Silent, any number of lies was fully justifiable; and in Parma he found a ready

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tool. The Duke had in his desk letters advising him of the early coming of the Armada, under convoy of which he, with some fifty thousand men,—already gathered in the Netherlands, and to be largely reënforced from the fleet,—was to cross to the shores of England. "Keep the negotiations alive till my Armada appears," wrote King Philip. In the face of these facts, Parma was assuring the English Commissioners, as late as the month of July, of the King's desire for peace.

"Upon the honor of a gentleman," he said to Dr. Rogers, "I declare, really and truly, that I *know not* of any intention of the King of Spain against Her Majesty or her realm." Whereupon the credulous old doctor wrote home, "singularly rejoicing," as he expressed it, that he could send such "authentic information from the highest source." When asked about the great preparations it was rumored that Philip was making, the Duke told the Commissioners that Spain was going to war against the Turks. That all this duplicity was not without its effect, is evidenced by the fact that as late as midsummer of that year the Queen ordered some of the larger ships out of commission to save expense, —an order which the admiral, Lord Howard, ignored. He had no faith in King Philip's protestations, and declared that he would keep the ships on the sea at his own expense, if necessary. In chicanery and procrastination Spanish statesmen and diplomats have always been consummate artists. They have yet to learn that "simple truth" is "utmost skill." Philip's design was to make his Armada so overwhelming, so complete, as absolutely to command success. It was to be "invincible"; and Spaniards generally thought that at the mere sight of it the British tars would flee, panic-stricken. But the British tars were not alarmed. In that day there were no lightning-flashes under the sea and over the continent: news came by slow and painful journeyings of weeks and months. Unheralded, the Armada succeeded in arriving within sight of the shores of England on July 29, 1588; the British fleet lying peacefully at anchor in Plymouth harbor. A Dutch skipper, named Fleming,—his name should be remembered with honor,—crowding all sail and running before the wind, entered the harbor and told that he had that morning seen the Spanish Armada off the Lizard.

It happened that the captains of the fleet were at the Bowling Green on the Hoe, busily engaged in a game of bowls. More gallant sailors than were there assembled never trod quarter-deck,—Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Howard. On Fleming's report, there was an immediate rush for the boats: but Drake checked his brother-officers; declaring that he had plenty of time to win the game and to thrash the Spaniards after-

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ward. So they coolly proceeded with their game,—the most famous game that ever was played. That night the beacon-lights flashed from tower and hill-top through all England: the flaming telegraph had but one meaning; and every Briton knew that the enemy had come at last. As Macaulay wrote:

"Night sank upon the dusky beach,
And on the purple sea;
Such night in England ne'er hath been,
Nor ne'er again shall be.
From Eddystone to Berwick bounds,
From Lynn to Milford Bay,
That time of slumber was as bright
And busy as the day;
For swift to east and swift to west
The ghastly war-flame spread;
High on St. Michael's Mount it shone:
It shone on Beachy Head.
Far on the deep the Spaniard saw
Along each southern shire,
Cape beyond cape, in endless range,
Those twinkling points of fire."

The Spanish fleet, composed of huge galleons, of galleys rowed by fettered slave-gangs, and of other craft,—one hundred and thirty sail in all,—carrying more than thirty thousand men, with three thousand guns, was almost helpless in the presence of the English, whose swift-moving and splendidly handled vessels sailed around and around the great hulks; attacking when and where they pleased. Plenty of guns had the Spaniards; but they did not know how to use them. Most of their shot passed harmlessly over the heads of their adversaries; while their own great ships were riddled; their lofty sides furnishing an easy mark for the more skilful English gunners.

In one of this series of remarkable naval battles, the Spanish lost sixteen of their best ships, sunk or captured, and five thousand men; while of the English there were not a hundred men wounded and killed.

An incident that occurred when the Armada first approached English waters is worthy of mention. In the fleet were four galleys—great, clumsy structures, with tall turrets, stem and stern, filled with splendid state apartments, chapels, pulpits, and other paraphernalia having nothing to do with a warship,—altogether about as unlike as possible what a war-vessel ought to be. One of them had already sunk off Cape Finisterre; and, being even worse sailors than the lumbering galleons, the remainder were at the tail of the procession. These craft were manned by

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galley-slaves, under guard of armed soldiers—an admirable arrangement, truly, for a fighting-machine! In one of these sat David Gwynn, a Welsh sailor, for eleven years a prisoner. It may well be supposed that, when these unfortunate men were embarked on this expedition, the hope of freedom revived in their breasts, and that they had a complete understanding among themselves.

A violent gale came up; and, the vessel being near foundering, the captain lost his head. Knowing Gwynn to be an able seaman, the captain appealed to him to save the vessel. Gwynn, with other sailors like himself, soon had the queer craft laid to, stripped of her canvas; then, as Gwynn threw down his cap and raised his hand,—the preconcerted signal,—the soldiers were attacked with stilettos, and most of them killed or thrown overboard. Having captured the vessel and being now well armed, Gwynn next boldly laid the ship alongside of another galley following closely, and the only other craft in sight. Of course the crew of galley-slaves on that vessel instantly joined with their deliverers, and made short work of the officers and soldiers on board. Motley says, in this connection:

"This done, the combined rowers, welcoming Gwynn as their deliverer from an abject slavery which seemed their lot for life, willingly accepted his orders."

Under command of the gallant Welshman, the two galleys made their way to the French coast; landing at Bayonne. They then placed themselves under the protection of brave young Harry of Navarre, who welcomed them most kindly; providing for their wants, and aiding them to return to their homes. There were four hundred and sixty-six of these fugitives—Englishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, and Turks. For his part in these great deeds, Gwynn was knighted by Queen Elizabeth.

Another tragic incident soon afterward occurred on board Admiral Oquendo's flag-ship. A master-gunner, a Fleming, being severely reprimanded and threatened with punishment for bad gun-practice, became so enraged that he laid a train to the powder-magazine, fired it, and then jumped overboard. The ship blew up; the great turret in the stern rising high in the air, and carrying with it the paymaster-general of the fleet, a large amount of treasure, and hundreds of men.

The Duke of Medina, the commander-in-chief, being deeply chagrined at the lack of discipline and seamanship displayed in his fleet, sent a sergeant-major on board each ship of the Armada, with stringent orders to hang, without appeal or consultation, every captain who dared leave the position assigned him in written orders; and to insure prompt atten-

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tion, a hangman was sent with each sergeant-major. They appear to have had a full corps of these pleasant gentlemen on board. Indeed, the prevision of King Philip was thought to have included all possible wants or contingencies. For instance, he remembered even to provide for the spiritual welfare of his proposed English subjects, whom he considered in a sad state in this respect. He thought to convince them of the error of their ways by the same unanswerable arguments that had proved so efficacious in his own kingdom of Spain. To this end there was included in the outfit a battalion of about three hundred monks and familiars of the "Holy Inquisition," under the command of the Vicar-General Don Martin Allacon. On their arrival in England, it was fully expected that they would find an ample field for the exercise of the ministrations of this beneficent institution.

One of the greatest feats of arms was the capture of the "Capitana," the largest and most splendid vessel of the Armada, "the very glory and stay of the Spanish navy." She was seen trying to enter the harbor of Calais. Admiral Howard determined to cut her out and sent his long-boat with some fifty volunteers. They were joined by a pinnace, with a body of musketeers on board. With not more than a hundred men, all told, they dashed at the great ship, which was manned by seven hundred and fifty men and carried forty brass pieces of artillery, and boarded her; killing the captain. The soldiers on board, dismayed and panic-stricken, jumped overboard and endeavored to reach the shore, in which attempt many of them were drowned. Such stories read more like a page of romance than sober history. Seven hundred and fifty men on a great warship! One hundred men in small boats! But when we remember that the working-crew consisted of three hundred and fifty galley-slaves under guard, watching for just such a chance to regain their freedom, and four hundred soldiers, good enough on land perhaps, but not very efficient on shipboard, it is not so surprising that they were overcome by their enemies, who were free Englishmen. "Their force is wonderful great and strong," said Howard; "but we plucked their feathers by little and little."

We read how, fighting day by day, the Armada at last reached the Flemish coast, expecting to be joined by Parma and his army. And just here it was suddenly discovered that King Philip had forgotten something after all. He had forgotten all about the brave Dutchmen, who, in their light but well-armed and well-manned galleons and sloops, commanded by Nassau, Wormond, and Rosendael, swarmed in every inlet and estuary of their crooked and dangerous coast from Dunkirk to Walcheren.

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The Duke had his army ready, with boats in which to pack them for transportation; but he had no warships to cope with the Dutchmen. The Armada, on which he depended to raise the blockade, had been unable to arrive in time; having been unavoidably detained by "pressing engagements" elsewhere.

Thus, cooped up by the patient and watchful Dutchmen, Parma was "beside himself with rage." He made one attempt to force a passage; ordering an attack on a supposed weak point with a thousand of his best troops embarked in some improvised gunboats. These boats were immediately sunk by the fire of the Dutch; and not a man escaped alive.

Until about August 10, some two weeks after their appearance in the Channel, the "St. Matthew," "St. Mark," "St. Luke," and the rest of the great galleons,—named for all the saints in the calendar,—continued their hopeless fight against the "Lion," "Bear," "Dreadnaught," "Revenge," "Victory," "Triumph," as the English ships were more profanely baptized, when, having lost some thirty or forty of their best vessels and over twelve thousand men, the shattered and demoralized Armada fled, panic-stricken, before the wind into the North Sea. As Capt. Fenner said, "The Almighty had stricken them with a wonderful fear."

Fortunately for the Spanish, the English were in no condition to pursue them; for they had hardly a shot left in the lockers, and no provisions. But the Armada had still a dread enemy to encounter; for the Storm King of the North awoke at their intrusion, and, with his fiercest gales, dashed the great hulks on the rock-bound coasts of Norway and Scotland, pursuing them along the Irish coast, where forty of the remaining vessels were wrecked, and nearly all on board lost. It is estimated that eight thousand men perished in this stormy passage.

There was hardly a noble family in Spain but was placed in mourning, for it seemed that the *jeunesse dorée* of that time regarded the expedition as a holiday excursion—a grand picnic, in which the dangers were *nil*, and the opportunity for gain was endless. So they flocked on board the ships in thousands. Now, as the numerous sad-colored garments of mourning added to the universal gloom of a people writhing under an overwhelming disaster, the King, thinking to mend matters, issued an edict—he was fond of edicts—forbidding the wearing of mourning at all. On the other hand, a Lisbon merchant who was not an admirer of the oppressor of his land, on hearing of the defeat of the Armada, indulged himself in a hearty laugh, whereupon, by express command of Philip he was immediately hanged. So it came to be said that "men could neither cry nor laugh in King Philip's dominions." Thus dropped

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the curtain on this great tragedy, which had held the breathless attention of all Europe. So far from conquering the "tight little Isle," "their invincible and dreadful navy," wrote Drake in his official report, "with all its great and terrible ostentation, did not in all their sailing about England so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheep-cote on this land."

England's experience with Spain has been reproduced in our recent victories at Manila and Santiago.

In studying the wonderful story of the Armada, it is natural to try to discover the underlying causes of such overwhelming defeat.

The Spanish ships were manned partly by galley-slaves, and were crowded with thousands of soldiers. Seasick and miserable, no doubt, it can be easily understood what a nuisance, what a hinderance these soldiers must have been to the sailor contingent, on whom the heat and burden of the day fell. Under the deadly fire of the English the great hulks became slaughter-pens.

Curiously enough, there has come down to us a more detailed and authentic account of the equipment of the Armada than of the British squadrons. Hakluyt, a contemporary chronicler, in his "Voyages," gives what he calls "A very large and particular description of their navy, which was put in print and published by the Spanish writer Materan."

After reciting the number, names, and tonnage of ships, number of sailors and soldiers, names of admirals and captains, and particularly of the "noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries," of whom he says there was a "great multitude," he goes on to give other details of equipment. For instance, they carried several thousand horses and mules, with a full complement of carts, wagons, axes, spades, mattocks, etc. They had six months' provisions on board, including twelve thousand pipes of water, "likewise of wine they had *one hundred and forty-seven thousand* pipes," —a large proportion of sack it would seem. In short, they had provided everything that could be wanted on land or sea.

The great galleons of fourteen or fifteen hundred tons, the largest that had ever been built up to that time, were sufficiently capacious, but proved to be of a wrong type, when it came to sailing and fighting. The controlling factor, after all, was the personnel of the two fleets.

In no position is the man in command more potential for good or for evil than on the quarter-deck of a warship. Fortunately, the right men were to the fore; and it may be said that on the courage and skill of half a dozen men depended the fate of England and the future of a great race. Thus nobly led, with every man in the fleet feeling and act-

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ing as if the fortune of the day depended on his single right arm, is it so wonderful that the English prevailed against hired mercenaries and galley-slaves?

Spain has been the cruel oppressor of many peoples. History is full of her crimes. It records how Philip II condemned three million Netherlanders to death; wishing they had but one neck, that he might exterminate them all at a single blow.

It tells of the expulsion—the extermination, almost—of the Moriscos, early in the seventeenth century. Through the active instrumentality of the Holy Inquisition these people had, of course, all been "converted." Still there remained harassing doubts as to their sincerity. Among the many minor persecutions to which they were subjected, they were forbidden to indulge in their national amusements or to wear the national dress. They were a cleanly race, and had numerous public baths. As bathing was a heathenish custom, these baths were all destroyed, as were even the baths in the private houses.[1]

Finally, in 1602 it was resolved, by the advice of the bishops, to expel what was left of the Moorish people. As the Archbishop of Valencia put it, in a memorial to Philip III:

"All the disasters that had befallen the monarchy had been caused by the presence of these unbelievers, whom it was now necessary to root out, even as David had done to the Philistines and Saul to the Amalekites."[2]

There was some difference of opinion as to methods. The Archbishop of Valencia, for instance, thought that children under seven years of age need not share in the general banishment, but might, without danger to the faith, be separated from their parents, and kept in Spain. But the Archbishop of Toledo was opposed to this; being unwilling, he said, "to run the risk of having the pure Spanish blood polluted by infidels." And he declared that "sooner than leave one of the unbelievers to corrupt the land, he would have the whole of them—men, women, and children—at once put to the sword."[3]

That their contemporaries of the same church in other lands were horrified at this monstrous crime, we have evidence:

"Le Cardinal de Richelieu, qui n'était pas très susceptible de pitié, l'appelle le plus hardi et le plus barbare conseil dont l'histoire de tous les siècles précédens fasse mention."[4]

[1] JANER, "Condicion de los Moriscos," pp. 31, 32.
[2] XIMENES, "Vida de Ribera," p. 370.
[3] GEDDES' "Miscellany" (1730), vol. i, pp. 85, 86.
[4] SISMONDI'S "Histoire des Français."

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By this edict of Philip, it is estimated that a million of the most industrious inhabitants of Spain were hunted like wild beasts from their homes, simply because the sincerity of their "conversion" was doubted.

Toiling painfully to the coast, thousands of Moriscos were murdered on the way, or died from exposure and starvation; for so steeled by a cruel and insane fanaticism were the hearts of the people of that dreadful age and country, that they could refuse to give to these infidels so little as a cup of cold water. Of those who reached the coast and embarked to cross to Africa, many were butchered by the Spanish crews, who ravished the women, and threw the children into the sea; a remnant only escaping to the Barbary coast.[1]

Thus was the work, begun in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, completed. The last of the Moors was driven from the Iberian peninsula. Acclaimed by church and state, another step had been taken toward the ruin of Spain.

In culture these Moriscos were at that time far superior to their descendants of the present day, and were almost the only skilled artisans in Spain. As farmers, and especially as manufacturers of textile and other fabrics, they were unequalled in Europe. They had established numerous factories containing thousands of looms at Seville, Toledo, and other places. All these industries were wiped out at a blow, and whole districts laid waste, which to this day have never been repeopled, except by brigands. That Spain persecuted the Jews mercilessly, goes without saying. There are other alleged Christian nations, however, who have frequently vied with her in that "pious" work, even down to the present time. As for the Spanish dons themselves, but two vocations in life were possible—the army or the church. All other occupations were regarded with supreme contempt.

In the old Cathedral of Granada stands the tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella. The traveller of to-day may read thereon an inscription, of which the following is a translation:

"To the Most Catholic Don Fernando and Dona Isabel, King and Queen of Spain, of Naples, of Sicily and Jerusalem, who conquered this Kingdom and brought it back to our faith; who conquered the Canary Islands and the Indies, *who crushed heresy, expelled the Moors and Jews from these realms, and reformed religion.*"

In this epitaph we find the key to Spanish history, to the causes which led to the downfall of a great empire. As the ages pass, the marvel will grow that such hideous crimes should have been committed in the name of religion.

[1] WATSON'S "Philip III." London, 1839.

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But the most awful part of Spain's record is that made up by her own historian, Las Casas, a Spanish priest, who has left a full account of the occupation of the West Indies, and especially of Cuba. This work has been but recently translated. The natives of these islands, unlike the fierce North American Indians, were a gentle and peaceful race; leading a life of Arcadian simplicity, and sustaining themselves, almost without labor, by the spontaneous products of that garden-spot of the earth.

This helpless race was completely exterminated in less than thirty years, and negro slavery substituted. Thus was introduced in this free western hemisphere a false and wicked system, for the perpetuation of which our own great Republic has been called to a fearful account; expiating the sin in the blood of her sons and at a cost of untold millions.

Some of the statements of Las Casas hardly bear recital, and would seem incredible, were it not for the added light thrown on the Spanish character by recent events in Cuba. The unfortunate natives were divided among the Spaniards by a *repartimiento* (an allotment) of slaves—so many slaves to so much land. There being an abundant supply of labor, and Indian lives being considered of no value, it was considered cheaper in the cultivation of certain of the crops to work an Indian to death under the lash and replace him with another, than to give him any care. When they rebelled, as they naturally did occasionally, they were murdered by the hundred, buried alive, impaled, or torn to pieces by bloodhounds. On one occasion, in retaliation for the killing of one of their oppressors, the hands of fifty Indians were chopped off by the Spaniards. Little children were drowned like puppies, as useless incumbrances.

Las Casas writes thus of "the mingling of religious ideas with the sheerest deviltry." He says that once, in honor and reverence of Christ and His twelve Apostles, they hanged thirteen Indians in a row, at such a height that their toes just touched the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword-points; taking care not to kill them too quickly, and first gagging them, in order that their cries and groans should not too much disturb the Spaniards. A favorite amusement was a test of their Toledo blades by deciding who could most neatly cleave an Indian in twain at a single blow. *Repartimiento* then, *reconcentrado* now, the result is the same—extermination.

In that "Pearl of the Antilles" which Spain has worn so proudly, which she has so sadly misruled, she is at last to find her Nemesis. For the murder of her own people, for the blood of those slaughtered millions of long ago, the terrible cry of whose suffering will not be stilled, but comes ringing down through the centuries, a just retribution is at hand.

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Great as has been the punishment of Spain, the end is not yet. For "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

Removed from its home environment to far-distant lands, and brought under the influence of a better civilization, the Spanish character is modified; becoming more energetic, broader-minded, more tolerant.

Latterly many American travellers who have visited Mexico have spoken in enthusiastic terms of the Mexicans, of the progress they are making; and they tell us of the great work accomplished by their noble President, of their grand, their magnificent country. Indeed, we seem to be getting quite proud of our sister-republic. Yet the Mexicans are of the same Spanish stock that has shown itself capable of such crimes against civilization and humanity as those of which I have written. But they are now free men, have been for several generations, and are learning to make good use of their freedom.

We also hear the shallow assertion that the downtrodden Cubans are an ignorant lot, unfit to govern themselves. Perhaps they are; but they are what centuries of oppression have made them.

Forty years ago Thomas Buckle, in his remarkable "History of Civilization," wrote:

> "As Spain is the country where what I conceive to be the fundamental conditions of national improvement have been most flagrantly violated, so also shall we find that it is the country where *the penalty paid* for the violation has been most heavy, and where, therefore, it is most instructive to ascertain how the prevalence of certain opinions *causes the decay* of the people among whom they predominate."

The fiery ordeal of battle is again throwing a search-light on the Spanish character; and we can see what the intellectual suppression of generations of men does for them. In Spain inquiry and freedom of thought have always been systematically discouraged. The Spaniards have had little part or interest in the magnificent achievements of modern science. A people so suppressed and oppressed, so stunted mentally, cannot produce the best sailors, soldiers, merchants, or mechanics.

S. L. THURLOW.

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THE PROBLEM OF IMMORTALITY — SOME RECENT MEDIUMISTIC PHENOMENA.

ANYONE who has read De Quincey's passionate and rhetorical monologue on the death of his sister in the "Confessions of an Opium Eater" must be struck with the contrast between his manner of treating the problem of immortality and the attempts of the Society for Psychical Research to throw light upon the same question. Philosophy and its endeavors landed in the agnosticism of Kant and Spencer. Rhetoric has always terminated in poetry and grandiloquence; and it remains to be seen whether science will achieve any better results.

The Society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882, and issued its First Report in 1883. Its purpose was to investigate the alleged phenomena of Spiritualism without any bias for or against that doctrine. These phenomena comprised such alleged facts as apparitions, clairvoyance, telepathy, mediumship, table-turning and spirit-rappings, hypnotism, and other supposedly supernormal events. The mass of material which it has collected, bearing on its problems, has been enormous; but at no time has the result seemed to come up to the standard of scientific evidence for anything like the immortality of the soul, until the allegations of the last Report laid claim to that character. The Census of Hallucinations, which represented the Society's Tenth Report, comprised a very interesting conclusion, which was, that "between deaths and apparitions of the dying persons a connection exists which is not due to chance alone." This was in 1894, and hinted very strongly at the trend of the investigations, though only to create the suspicion that where there was so much smoke there must be some fire. In the meantime, Prof. William James, of Harvard University, accidentally discovered a case of mediumship which invited the serious attention of the Society and its officers. Two Reports previous to the present one have been issued upon this case; yet, though they confirmed the wisdom of the investigation, they did not establish any substantial claims for the spiritistic hypothesis. The last Report, however, which represents the work of Dr. Richard Hodgson, mostly since 1888, makes a bolder profession; and anyone who competently examines the various reports upon

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this case must be impressed with its claims, if he can satisfy himself that the proper precautions have been taken to exclude fraud from the results.

It will be important to examine briefly how the work of the Society led up gradually to this final result. Its first efforts were not directed to the more striking claims of the spiritists, but to the humbler problem of telepathy, which assumes the transmission of thought from one mind to another without the medium of ordinary sense-impressions. The object of this preliminary task—especially as its phenomena did not claim to be spiritistic, though supernormal—was to satisfy the cautiousness of those who felt the extreme difficulties of putting in question the results of physiological science. At the same time, if telepathy were true, or could even be assumed as a working hypothesis, it was apparent, if consciousness did survive death, that the first condition would exist for communication between incarnate and discarnate souls. The only problem after this assumption was one of evidence. Mediumistic phenomena purported to represent such a communication. The case, therefore, discovered by Prof. James offered an opportunity to test the whole question; and Dr. Hodgson has here presented a mass of allegations that must astonish anyone who can be induced to study them carefully.

The name of the medium, Mrs. Piper, is perhaps well enough known from previous Reports of the Society to make any historical account of her superfluous. But for those who have learned to question the pretensions of mediumistic phenomena, and who are familiar with the sources of fraud in such cases, it is necessary to remark that ample precautions were taken against its committal. It would require too much space to describe these precautions; but the Society will challenge anyone to make good the suspicion that the case is open to the ordinary objections. That is all that I shall say on this point. The conditions under which the experiments were made with Mrs. Piper can be studied in the first and second reports made on the case. The most that can be suspected is muscular and verbal hints from the "sitters," who are the persons seeking information from the medium. But those who have studied the case carefully will find such a theory going a very little distance. Mrs. Piper's condition during the experiments is that of "trance,"—whatever this may mean. Nothing is known of it except that the subject is wholly unconscious and insensible. This has been adequately tested by the qualified authorities, and by all the methods that are accepted in the attestation of hypnosis. In this state the

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medium delivers communications, sometimes purporting to come from deceased friends of the "sitter," and sometimes of a character which, though not pretending to come from such a source, is beyond all ordinary comprehension. I wish here to note some of those which claim to be spiritistic, and perhaps some that seem to present serious objections to such an hypothesis.

Dr. Hodgson had an intimate friend whom he calls in his report by the pseudonym "George Pelham." Some time before his death he had a discussion with Dr. Hodgson in which he denied the immortality of the soul, or questioned it, until at last he pledged himself, if he died first, and survived, to endeavor to make the fact known through telepathic mediumship. Mr. Pelham died in February, 1892. Dr. Hodgson knew of his death a day or two later. He was present at several sittings with Mrs. Piper soon afterward; but no allusion was made to George Pelham. Four or five weeks later, at a sitting by Mr. Hart (pseudonym), a friend of Pelham,—the proper precautions having been taken to prevent Mrs. Piper from knowing who Mr. Hart was,—George Pelham announced himself in a number of communications; "Dr. Phinuit," the alleged personality possessing Mrs. Piper, acting as intermediary. It must be remembered in this connection that one of the strange facts about the case is that experimental success—why, no one knows—is very much facilitated by putting into the hands of the medium some object or trinket familiar to the deceased. In this instance, one of the pair of studs Mr. Hart was wearing was given to Phinuit (Mrs. Piper) with the question by the sitter: "Who gave them to me?" The reply was: "That's mine. I gave you that part of it. I sent that to you." "When?" "Before I came here. That's mine. Mother gave you that." "No." "Well, father then, father and mother together. You got those after I passed out. Mother took them. Gave them to father, and father gave them to you. I want you to keep them. I will them to you." Mr. Hart adds in his notes: "The studs were sent to me by Mr. Pelham as a remembrance of his son. I knew at the time that they had been taken from George Pelham's body, and afterward ascertained that his stepmother had taken them from the body and suggested that they would do to send me, I having previously written to ask that some little memento be sent to me."

The resemblance of this incident to the ordinary mediumistic tricks is strong enough to prevent any serious conclusions from it until it is made free from suspicion. But it is a sample of the many that lay claim to that exemption. We have only to remember that Mr. Hart was an

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entire stranger to Mrs. Piper and that his name had not been mentioned to her. But, discrediting it as we may, the next incident is much more interesting.

In the same sitting the names of James and Mary [Mr. and Mrs.] Howard were mentioned, and in connection with Mrs. Howard came the name of Katharine. This was the name of her daughter. "Tell her," said the alleged George Pelham, "she'll know. I will solve the problems, Katharine." Mr. Hart explains in a note: "This had no special significance for me at the time, though I was aware that Katharine, the daughter of Jim Howard, was known to George, who used to live with the Howards. On the day following the sitting, I gave Mr. Howard a detailed account of it. These words, 'I will solve the problems, Katharine,' impressed him more than anything else; and at the close of my account he related that George, when he had last stayed with them, had talked frequently with Katharine (a girl of fifteen years of age) upon such subjects as Time, Space, God, Eternity, and pointed out to her how unsatisfactory the commonly accepted solutions were. He added that some time he would solve the problems, and let her know, using almost the very words of the communication made at the sitting." "Mr. Hart added," says Dr. Hodgson, "that he was entirely unaware of these circumstances. I was myself unaware of them, and was not at that time acquainted with the Howards, and in fact nearly every statement made at the sitting, during which I was the note-taker, concerned matters of which I was absolutely ignorant."

Dr. Hodgson remarks his own and Mr. Hart's ignorance of the data in order to evade the objection that a believer in telepathy would present to a spiritistic theory. Nothing is said to remove the suspicion that the medium had obtained this information by the well-known spy system. The incidents are just such as to suggest that explanation, especially to those who have had experience in tricks of this kind. But we must remember that Dr. Hodgson assumes that the impossibility of this kind of fraud has been sufficiently established by previous proof, that the trance is genuine, and that the present conditions, which involved Mrs. Piper's ignorance of Mr. Hart, made the spy theory impossible. That is to say, Dr. Hodgson alleges that fraud was not possible under the circumstances known to him, the details of which it would take too much space to repeat. Assuming, therefore, that fraud is to be excluded from the case, it will be clear enough what the source of the communications might profess to be. The Report is little less than the multiplication of just such incidents. It is apparent, therefore,

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that, if we can conceive the exclusion of the ordinary frauds charged to mediums, we have some very significant facts to deal with concerning such phenomena.

In this sitting, also, a number of other incidents of much interest occurred, though they cannot be detailed here. Reference was made to a book that had been loaned to a friend; to the confusion in which he (George Pelham) had left his affairs; and to a manuscript which had been found after his death, giving directions about its disposal. All of these are correct, though their evidential value depends upon the authority of Dr. Hodgson and on the care taken to exclude the possibility of previous knowledge by the medium. At the close of the sitting some interesting incidents occurred which illustrate the kind of confusion that often takes place on occasions of this sort, but which is unravelled by investigation in a most striking way.

It was nearly three weeks before a special opportunity arrived for similar communications from Pelham. In the interim, however, at sittings with strangers to Pelham, only one of whom—a Mr. Vance—had been known to him, in the midst of Phinuit's communications for others, Pelham expressed frequently a desire to see his friends. Later Mr. Vance had a sitting at which George Pelham purported at first to communicate directly by Mrs. Piper's automatic writing; and then Phinuit spoke for him. Dr. Hodgson reports:

"Then references were made to two other friends of Pelham, who had also been mentioned at Mr. Hart's sitting, and then for the first time the sitter (Mr. Vance) was noticed. 'How is your son? I want to see him some time.' 'Where did he know my son?' asked Mr. Vance. 'In studies in college,' was the reply. This was correct: Mr. Vance had a son who was a classmate of George Pelham. Mr. Vance then asked: 'Where did George [Pelham] stay with us?' and received the answer: 'Country. Peculiar house, trees around, porch that projects at the front, vine at the side. Porch at the front, and swing on the other side.' 'This is a correct answer to my question,' adds Mr. Vance. 'My country house has projecting porch in front and vine at the side; the porch is especially prominent; the swing had been removed before the visit alluded to; but George might have seen it on some other visit.'"

But I must refer more fully to three remarkable experiments by Dr. Hodgson to escape the possibility of objection from telepathy between Mrs. Piper and the sitter. As long as the information given by the medium represents only what the sitter knows, or has known, a transcendental source for it will be under suspicion. To effect this, an arrangement was made at one of the sittings with the alleged George Pelham that he should watch his father and see him do something that the Howards could not know about, and tell them at the next meeting,

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which was fixed for the following day. Mrs. Piper's illness prevented the experiment until the day after this. Dr. Hodgson reports: "Most of the sitting was private; and of the rest I quote only the passage for which I have contemporary documents. George Pelham wrote: 'I saw father, and he took my photograph and took it to the artist's to have it copied for me. . . . I went to Washington; my father will be hard to convince; my mother not so hard.' Mrs. Pelham wrote [in regard to the statements thus made]: 'Some of the things you state are very inexplicable on any other theory than that George himself was the speaker. His father *did*, without my knowledge, take a photograph of him (the same as the one sent you) to a photographer here to copy—not enlarge. The negative had been broken.' "

Apart from the belief and assurances of Dr. Hodgson that the medium did not have the means to acquire the information imparted at these sittings, the objection that can be raised to the incidents is apparent. But, at a sitting four days later, held by Mr. Peirce, says Dr. Hodgson:

"It then occurred to me that I would request George Pelham at the beginning of the sitting on April 28 to visit the Howards, and bring me word before the end of the sitting concerning the doings of the Howards during the time of the sitting, and I sent a special letter to the Howards asking them to do various fantastic things and make a memorandum. . . . Toward the close [of the sitting] Phinuit was interrupted by statements about what George Pelham claimed to have seen Mrs. Howard doing."

These statements of Phinuit, acting as intermediary, were:

"She's writing, and taken some violets and put them in a book. And it looks as if she's writing that to my mother. . . . Took little book, opened it, wrote letter he thinks to his mother. Saw her take a little bag and put some things in it belonging to him, placed the photograph beside her on the desk. That's hers. Sent a letter to TASON (Tyson?) TYSON. Mrs. . . . She hunted a little while for her picture, sketching. He's certain that the letter is to his mother. She took one of George's books and turned it over and said: 'George, are you here? Do you see that?' These were the very words. Then she turned and went up a short flight of stairs. Took some things from a drawer, came back again, sat down to the desk, and then finished the letter."

Dr. Hodgson reports the results in the following:

"The statements made as to what Mrs. Howard was doing at the time of the sitting were not one of them correct *as regards that particular time*, though they seem to indicate a knowledge of Mrs. Howard's actions during the previous day and a half, as appears from the following statement:

'DEAR MR. HODGSON:—I did *none* of those things to-day, but *all* of them yesterday afternoon and the evening before!

Yesterday afternoon I wrote a note to Mrs. Tyson declining an invitation to lunch; this I did at a little table. Later I wrote to his mother at a desk, and, seeing George's violets by me in their envelope, gave them to my daughter to put

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in my drawer, not "into a book." This is the only inaccuracy of detail. The day before I also wrote to his mother, putting his photograph before me on the table while I was writing—two of his photos in fact, one from another photo and one from a portrait I had painted of him; these I afterward put into his mother's letter. Did "hunt for my picture," my painting of him. Also wondered in my mind what they had done with the photo of me painting, and received letter from Mrs. Pelham saying they had burned it. What he says about the book is also true, though I can't tell at precisely what time I did it, as I was alone at the time. In all other matters my memory is corroborated by my daughter, who took the note to Mrs. T.'s, and saw me put photo before me on the desk. She now says that I only put *one* before me on the desk, and went and got the other just before putting it in envelope. It was only a minute on table.

While writing to his mother I *did* "go and take things from a drawer, came back again, sat down to the desk, and then finished the letter." This was the letter written at the desk, not the one written at a table.

I am much disappointed that he did not see what I did this morning. I am afraid he was right in saying they had no notion of time. Perhaps it took him too long to come to me, or he did not understand Phinuit's question.

I hope to have a chance to hear what you think of this soon.

Yours,

MRS. HOWARD.

P.S.—I don't know whether I made it quite clear that I sat thinking, wondering where the photo of me while painting *could* be; and I think that in the first of the two letters I wrote to his mother, I told her he had asked for it. I know I thought of doing so.

I seldom write to Mrs. Tyson, and this note is almost the only one I have written this winter,—have not written to her for weeks, perhaps months, before this. It is certainly strange that he should seem to know so much of my doings. I feel as if he *must* have seen them.'"

Assuming the absence of fraud, this experiment would be profoundly interesting, as I think everyone would admit. But there is a provokingly suspicious circumstance about it. The sitting for the Howards had been arranged originally for April 28, and in the interim before this date two or three other persons had sittings. On one of these intermediate days Dr. Hodgson had requested George Pelham, through Phinuit, to obtain information, if possible, concerning certain incidents, and communicate the results to the Howards at the next sitting. But the Howards transferred their sitting to Mr. Peirce, mentioned above; and it was at this sitting that the remarkable statements above given were made. The sceptic would say that here are precisely the conditions for fraud. After the arrangement for the sitting on the 28th, Mrs. Piper's detectives, if they existed, might work up the incidents, and Mrs. Piper present them at the right time. Hence everything depends upon the assurance that Mrs. Piper had no detective system, and that the trance was genuine. These, of course, are the assumptions and allegations made by Dr. Hodgson. Nor will it be conclu-

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sive against suspicion that the fraud, if supposed, would be a clumsy one: for it might be contended that this very trick was necessary, partly to keep up the pretence of genuineness of the trance and partly to keep Dr. Hodgson deluded, and that the medium could well afford to have the sitting with Mr. Peirce fail in order to carry out such a plan. The facts make such a supposition very doubtful; but to say the least, those who were not eye-witnesses of the work must be indulgently treated for their scepticism.

A similar experiment was made some weeks later, and at the suggestion of Pelham himself. Dr. Hodgson, on a Saturday, at a sitting with the father and mother, arranged with the latter to do some things that day and to keep a record of them. He also arranged with George Pelham to tell at the sitting the next Monday what he saw his father and mother do at a specified time on Saturday. Mrs. Howard was to have the sitting on Monday. The following were Pelham's statements at the Monday sitting: "I saw him take some notepaper and write an explanatory letter to Frank about what I said to him when I saw him in or on that day. . . . The flowers which I saw mother put before my photo, she and father will understand. . . . I saw mother put them under my picture on the afternoon of which he spoke to me to watch him. . . . In connection with this I saw them open my book and place therein a picture of X. Y."

It appears from the accounts of the father and mother that two of the acts had been done as described. The third, however,—the writing of the explanatory letter to Frank,—had not been carried out. Mr. Pelham had intended writing and had consulted his wife about its contents, but had not found time to write.

It is easy to repeat the same suspicion as above against these incidents, though trouble would have to be met in the case of the action that had been thought of, but not performed. Assuming, however, that the kind of fraud capable of being suspected here was not undertaken, or was provided against, we certainly have facts that are calculated to make men think, whatever they may conclude from them.

There are incidents of equal or even greater interest than these in large numbers; but it would require more space than I dare use here to make them clear. In one instance Pelham alluded to the annoyance which he had experienced, while living, at the violin practice of Katharine Howard when she was a little girl. Katharine was present at the sitting when this was done. Another incident of some note may be mentioned. At a previous sitting Pelham said to Mrs. Howard: "Get

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me my hair." Dr. Hodgson comments: "Since the last sitting in the previous spring, Mrs. Pelham had sent Mrs. Howard some of George Pelham's *baby* hair. Mrs. Howard (who had brought this with her for the purpose mentioned at the beginning of this paper) was not consciously thinking of this, and had forgotten to bring it into the room. After receiving it, Pelham said: 'Mother gave it to you. She had it a long time.'" Hundreds, one might almost say thousands, of such incidents could be mentioned as falling into line with the more striking and complicated cases. But readers must go to the Report for them, as well as for a better conception of those that I have stated.[1] I shall now give in full two incidents of much interest, though they are somewhat complicated.

Dr. Hodgson says:

"On April 28 occurred the incident which I have described, when George Pelham said that he knew the sitter, and I asked for the sitter's name, which was given correctly by Mrs. Piper in the 'subliminal' stage of her recovery from trance. On April 29 came the explanation from George Pelham about the difficulties involved in the act of communicating, and I believe that I emphasized the importance of his always recognizing any friend of his who happened to attend a sitting, no matter what other communications he might wish to make. From that time onward he has never failed to announce himself to, and to recognize with the appropriate emotional and intellectual relations, the sitters who were known to George Pelham, living, and to give their names in one form or another, with one exception. This exception, however, seems to me to be as noteworthy as if the recognition had been complete. It is the case of Miss Warner, who had her first sitting on January 6, 1897. George Pelham wrote a little near the beginning of the sitting, but seemed to have only some vague remembrance of the sitter, who, nevertheless, was given a good deal of correct information by Phinuit and others concerning the members of her family and friends. At the end of the sitting George Pelham wrote a few words to ask how Rogers was getting on, and sending regards to him. At Miss Warner's second sitting, held the next day, January 7, George Pelham wrote part of the time, and asked the sitter if she knew Orenberg. She did not. The sitter mentioned at the previous sitting that she remembered George Pelham, but that he knew her mother better, and at this second sitting George Pelham asked who she was. I said her mother was a special friend of Mrs. Howard." [Pelham went on to say to Miss Warner:]

'I do not think I ever knew you very well. (Very little. You used to come and see my mother.) I heard of you, I suppose. (I saw you several times. You used to come with Mr. Rogers.) Yes, I remembered about Mr. Rogers when I saw you before. (Yes, you spoke of him.) Yes, but I cannot seem to place you. I long to place all of my friends, and could do so before I had been gone so long. You see I am farther away. . . . I do not recall your face. You must have changed. . . . (Dr. Hodgson: Do you remember Mrs. Warner?) Of course, oh, very well. For pity sake, are you her little daughter? (Yes.) By Jove, how you have grown. . . . I thought so much of your mother, a charming woman. (She always enjoyed

[1] Dr. Hodgson's Report can be obtained by addressing the Secretary of the Society, 5 Boylston Place, Boston, Massachusetts.

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seeing you, I know.) Our tastes were similar. (About writing?) Yes. Do you know Marte at all? (I've met him once or twice.) Your mother knows. Ask her if she remembers the book I gave her to read. (I will.) And ask her if she still remembers me and the long talks we used to have at the home evenings. (I know she does.) I wish I could have known you better, it would have been so nice to have recalled the past. (I was a little girl).'

Now it should be remembered that these sittings were held five years after the death of George Pelham, and that G. P. had not seen Miss Warner for at least three or four years before his death, that she was only a little girl when he had last seen her, that she had not been, so to say, a special friend of his, and that she had changed very much in the intervening eight or nine years."

The other incident occurred on March 21, 1894. It was a curious recognition of the Rev. Minot J. Savage. "After George Pelham began to write, I asked," says Dr. Hodgson:

"(Do you know this gentleman, M. J. Savage?) [Mr. Savage had had sittings years previously, and was known to Mrs. Piper.] 'Yes, I do. How are you, sir? Speak to me. This is too delightful. I am pleased to see your face again.' (You remember meeting him in the body?) 'Oh, yes, well, I do well.'"

Dr. Hodgson comments:

"I supposed at the time that Mr. Savage had never met George Pelham, and that was Mr. Savage's opinion also, and we both expected the answer 'No' to my first question, and I, at least, was further surprised at the amount of feeling indicated both by the words written and the excitement of the hand. Very soon, however, during the sitting, I recalled what I had temporarily forgotten, viz., that when George Pelham had his sitting with Mrs. Piper on March 7, 1888 [before his death] the Rev. M. J. Savage was the Committee Officer, who was present officially at the sitting. But George Pelham was not introduced under his real name to Mr. Savage, and it was specially recorded in the report of the sitting that he was unknown to Mr. Savage."

The alleged communications from discarnate spirits are not limited to the case of George Pelham, but represent many other persons, as the circumstances seem to require. I have, however, taken most largely from the data regarding him, because Dr. Hodgson has placed most emphasis upon the mass of material presented in the cases of his alleged return and communications. Many of the others are as amazing as these, but cannot be quoted at length. One, for instance, is interesting. A gentleman had made an appointment for a sitting with Mrs. Piper through Dr. Hodgson, and without the slightest knowledge of Mrs. Piper. In the meantime the gentleman tried the Ouiga board in Washington with a lady friend who has had remarkable experiences with it. At the second sitting of this kind his deceased wife purported to communicate by Ouiga board, saying: "All your movements are noticed by me. Meet your appointment, etc." At the sitting with Mrs. Piper, held four days afterward in Boston, his home being in Minneapolis,

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Minnesota, his deceased wife purported to communicate again, and said: "I told you in my note to keep the appointment, did I not, dear? This appointment was what I meant."

Among the more remarkable instances were those of Mrs. Katharine Paine Sutton, who herself had had several interesting personal experiences of the so-called psychical kind. Only two can be mentioned here, and those in connection with Mrs. Piper and independently of her previous experiences. At a sitting with Mrs. Piper, just as Phinuit (Mrs. Piper) remarked the same fact, imitating the act, Mrs. Sutton saw an apparition of her little daughter, standing at the table, trying to reach a spool of tangled red knitting silk. (Phinuit) "She wants that, she and Eleanor used to play with. She calls it Eleanor's." "All true," says Mrs. Sutton, "but I had not connected it with Eleanor in my thought." On another occasion, just as Phinuit said, "Here is an old gentleman wants to speak to you, Dr. Clarke," Mrs. Sutton saw an apparition of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, who was dead and whom she had known well. (At a previous sitting he purported to communicate, and sent a message to his daughter.) "He asks," continued Phinuit, "if you gave his message to —— (name of his daughter)." Perhaps another will be of some interest. The little child above mentioned, called Kakie, at the same sitting, purporting to communicate, said: "Kakie did see papa. Papa is marching with Eleanor. Sings, 'March, march,' etc." Mrs. Sutton comments: "Eleanor is a little invalid. Mr. Sutton carries her a great deal—often sings, 'March,' etc.—had done so this time." This fact is especially interesting, because it represents a contemporary event that was afterward verified.

All of these facts seem to have but one meaning, and this is survival after death; or, put in common parlance, Spiritualism, though not so offensively represented as it usually is. Dr. Hodgson boldly advances this hypothesis. And it is no small gain to that doctrine to find the man who so brilliantly exposed the fraudulent claims of Madame Blavatsky and Eusapia Palladino coming out on the side of scientific proof for immortality. He is not, however, dogmatic in his claims. He is cautious and conservative in his conclusions. He admits that the believer in telepathy may still prefer, and perhaps legitimately, to stretch that theory to meet the case, rather than accept the spiritistic interpretation. He remarks, however—half maliciously, I suspect—that this view must suppose that the thoughts past and present of all living persons are open to Mrs. Piper's inspection.

And there are many curious facts that make a sober man halt at the

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theory of spirit communication, even in this Report, which presents such a mass of facts in its favor. For instance, a most suspicious circumstance is the frequent refusal or inability of an alleged communicator to give his own name; sometimes asking for delay and then failing, and sometimes actually giving a false one. Another difficulty is the frequent, almost universal, limitation of the messages to facts that the sitters already know; bringing the phenomena under explanation by telepathy, in case that fraud cannot be suspected.

Still more striking is the obscurity attending statements in reply to questions about the nature of transcendental existence. This is not so noticeable in this Report as the vast mass of matter independent of it which pretends, in one way or another, to be spiritistic. In support also of a sceptical view is an interesting fact in the sittings of Mrs. Sutton already quoted. The little child purporting to communicate always spoke, in the messages, of her grandmother as "Marmie," which was the name always given her by the child's parents; whereas the child during life had always called her "Grammie." This ought not to be expected, especially when the peculiarities of phrase and terms in all else that the child purported to say were exactly what characterized her in life, unless we account for the whole by telepathy from the parents' memory. Supposing that the alleged messages represented what the parents knew, as they did in most cases at least, telepathy between Mrs. Piper's subliminal consciousness and the memory of the sitters would explain the child's failure to say "Grammie" more easily than spirit communication.

It is true that there are many facts that will not yield to so easy an explanation, but must assume a much more complicated form of thought transference, if that theory is to be advanced at all. But, nevertheless, the suspiciously strong claims which telepathy obtains in certain anomalous incidents makes one hesitate to go further without a much larger mass of evidence than this Report presents. The case for immortality is by no means put beyond a doubt, nor even rendered so probable that scepticism is no longer reasonable. Such a conclusion, however, does not exempt one from the obligation to admit the significant and amazing character of Dr. Hodgson's experiments.

Facts and allegations of the sort presented by Dr. Hodgson have not been wanting in the past. They have been plentiful enough. But they have not come attested with sufficient care and corroborative testimony to impress the scientific mind; hence their resemblance to proved frauds has acted as a deterrent force of some power against unwary conversion to spiritism. Moreover, the evidence produced for this doctrine

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in Dr. Hodgson's Report will appear too scanty to overcome the resistance of scientific scepticism, buttressed as it is upon such an enormous amount of material as characterizes its objections to the claims of spiritism. Nevertheless, Dr. Hodgson's allegations cannot be dismissed with a sneer; nor can any critic escape the responsibility of proving the suspicion of fraud which he may wish to entertain.

What strikes the reader with amazement, if fraud of any kind is excluded from the account, is the astounding character of the theories required to escape the conviction that the immortality of the soul has received a scientific demonstration. If fraud be eliminated,—and it is an easy matter to prove it if it exists,—the amount and selective power of the mind-reading necessary to cover the facts are so enormous that the supposition seems absolutely intolerable. There is no doubt that spiritistic communication is the *easier* explanation. But science often requires us to take the most difficult path; and, until the scientific claims for immortality are still better attested, scepticism must be entitled to hold the field.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

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NEW TRIALS FOR OLD FAVORITES.

In the book of travels which he has called "Following the Equator," Mark Twain casually speaks of the "Vicar of Wakefield" as "that strange menagerie of complacent hypocrites and idiots, of theatrical Cheap-John heroes and heroines who are always showing off, of bad people who are not interesting, and of good people who are fatiguing." And the iconoclastic humorist, not satisfied with this sweeping censure, goes further, and calls Goldsmith's masterpiece "a singular book," with "not a sincere line in it; a book which is one long waste-pipe discharge of goody-goody puerilities and dreary moralities; a book which is full of pathos which revolts, and of humor which grieves the heart."

This is strong language; and with all due respect for the clearness of vision which Mark Twain has often revealed in dealing with literature, as in dealing with life itself, and with a full recognition of the implacable common sense which is always his chief characteristic, I cannot but think that he has here overstated his case against Goldsmith, as he once before overstated his case against Cooper. The sentence of annihilation which he passes upon the "Vicar of Wakefield" is as severe as that which he passed upon the "Leather-Stocking Tales"; and they both of them seem to suggest rather the glad exaggeration of the wanton humorist than the severe restraint of the cautious critic.

And yet it may be noted that Mr. Austin Dobson, the latest biographer of Goldsmith, had frankly admitted in advance not a few of the charges which Mark Twain has harshly urged. Mr. Dobson remarked upon the "structural inconsistencies" of the story and upon "its naïve neglect of probability"; and he asked, "Where, in the world about us, do events succeed each other in such convenient sequence?—where do persons answer to their names with such opportune precision?" And he confessed also that "we may gape a little over some of its old-fashioned maxims. . . . We may even think *Squire Thornhill* a little too much of the stage libertine; we may have our doubts touching that ubiquitous philanthropist, his uncle."

Where the British critic would join issue with the American humorist is in traversing the charge that there is "not a sincere line in it,"

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since sincerity is the very quality not to be denied to the genial Irishman. And when Mark Twain insists that the good characters in the little tale are all fatiguing, it is well to recall that Mr. Dobson finds the family of Wakefield to be like Dryden's milk-white hind, "immortal and unchanged," and that he holds them to be "such friendly, such accustomed figures, they are so fixed and settled in our intimacy, that we have forgotten to remember how good they are,—how clearly and roundly realized, how winningly and artlessly presented."

Mr. Dobson is not one of the biographers who get their saint only because they refuse to allow free speech and fair play to the devil's advocate; and he appreciates fully Voltaire's saying, that criticism of detail is never fatal. Voltaire elsewhere asserted that the critic does not know his trade who cannot discover the causes of a book's success; and Mr. Dobson has pointed out the real reasons why the "Vicar of Wakefield" has pleased long and pleased many, in spite of its obvious shortcomings. Goldsmith presented the *Primrose* family so simply and so sympathetically that the world was delighted to take them to its heart, notwithstanding the clumsiness of the plot and the staginess of many of the personages. We can now detect in *Dr. Primrose* a certain eighteenth-century attitude toward the established order in church and in state which is not pleasing in our nineteenth-century eyes, and which is probably the cause of Mark Twain's contemptuous accusation of "complacent hypocrisy": but, in spite of this, the record of the *Vicar's* little vanities and little weaknesses is not fatiguing; and the *Vicar* himself lingers in our memory as a Christian gentleman.

Mark Twain is a good workman; but he is not unwilling to carry one of his chips on his shoulder. He has a hatred of humbug almost as hearty as Molière's, and a scorn of hypocrisy almost as hot; and it may be that he was moved to this violent outbreak in protest against the unthinking lip-reverence with which books like the "Vicar of Wakefield" are treated generally. Anyone who truly loves literature and who takes a real interest in its history, can hardly fail to be annoyed by the superstitious veneration paid to the minor masterpieces of the past. They are mentioned with bated breath, as though they were flawless gems, to hint a spot on which were akin to sacrilege. It is the very negation of criticism to act on the theory that even the great poets were impeccable, that Homer never nodded, and that Shakespeare never slept; and a willingness to close the eyes resolutely to all the weak points in their works may lead in time to an inability to see where their real strength lies. And if it is safest for the honest critic not to blind himself to the

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fact that in "Hamlet," in the fifth act especially, there are still obvious traces of the earlier and inferior "play of blood" upon which it was founded, and that in "Don Quixote" the pretence of a translated manuscript is tedious and ill-sustained, so it is doubly important that the honest critic should keep his eyes open wide when he comes to deal with the lesser classics, with books like the "Vicar of Wakefield" and "Gil Blas" and "Paul and Virginia,"—books each of which has a place of its own in the complex development of the modern novel, but for which it is absurd to claim verbal inspiration.

Goldsmith's domestic idyl suggested Goethe's "Hermann and Dorothea" and, indirectly, Longfellow's "Evangeline." Le Sage's picaresque romance inspired Smollett's robustious "Roderick Random"; it influenced Dickens in the "Pickwick Papers" and in "Nicholas Nickleby"; and it even provided an unconscious model for Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn." Saint-Pierre's exotic love-story revealed to later novelists the possibility of making the forces of nature —the flowers of the field and the winds of heaven—play a part in the tragedy of life. The "Vicar of Wakefield" and "Gil Blas" and "Paul and Virginia" are all of them important in the history of fiction, for one reason or another; but they are none of them so mighty in their scope that we need to be afraid to weigh their merits exactly and to measure their faults with precision.

We are justified in insisting on a careful examination, not only of their credentials from the past, but of the works themselves. They come to us with the indorsement of preceding generations; but we gave no preceding generation a power of attorney to decide what we should like in literature, or to declare what we must admire. Every generation exercises the right of private judgment for itself. Every generation is a Court of Appeals which never hesitates to overrule and reverse the judgments of its predecessors. When a book has been praised since a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the probability is large that the commendation is deserved. But there is always a possibility that its reputation has been preserved merely because the book has become unreadable and has thus tempted nobody to explode its inherited fame.

We have always a right to reopen the case whenever fresh evidence is discovered. In the Court of Criticism there is no doctrine of *stare decisis:* precedent cannot tie the tongue of posterity. Nothing is more unwholesome for a living literature than a willingness to accept a tradition without question, blindfold and obedient. Nothing is worse for

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the welfare of a living literature than an acceptance of that maxim of *Pudd'nhead Wilson's*, in which he asserts that a classic is a book everybody praises and nobody reads, unless it is an acting upon the maxim of Samuel Rogers, who said that whenever a new book came out he read an old one. We need the new and the old; but we need the old for what it is to us now, and not for what it was to readers of the last century.

When Mr. Howells aroused the rage of the British lion by his innocent suggestion that the art of fiction is a finer art nowadays than it had been in Thackeray's time, he was in fact guilty of an obvious commonplace. Guy de Maupassant may or may not be a better shot than Honoré de Balzac; but there is no doubt as to the superiority of the younger writer's rifle. So Thackeray himself had a better gun than Scott; and Scott could have had a better gun than Fielding, although for some reason he apparently preferred the old-fashioned bow of yew with its cloth-yard arrow. No wonder is it therefore that some readers of to-day, accustomed to the feats of long-range marksmanship made possible by the latest weapons of precision, are often impatient at the results of the target-practice of our ancestors.

Scott declared that few have read "Gil Blas" "without remembering, as one of the most delightful occupations of their life, the time which they first employed in its perusal"; and he goes further, and suggests that "if there is anything like truth in Gray's opinion, that to lie upon a couch and read new novels was no bad idea of Paradise, how would that beatitude be enhanced, could human genius afford us another 'Gil Blas'!" Thackeray asserted that "the novel of 'Humphrey Clinker' is, I do think, the most laughable story that has been written since the goodly art of novel-writing began." Coleridge maintained that the three finest plots in the whole history of literature were to be found in the "Œdipus" of Sophocles, the "Alchemist" of Ben Jonson, and the "Tom Jones" of Fielding.

Scott and Thackeray and Coleridge are critics whose equipment and insight and disinterestedness every lover of literature must respect. But Coleridge died before the modern novel had reached its full development; and, if he overpraised the plot of "Tom Jones," it was perhaps because he could not foresee the "Scarlet Letter" or "Smoke." No doubt Thackeray relished the eighteenth century exceedingly; but when he singled out "Humphrey Clinker" as a masterpiece of laughter-making, he could have had no premonition of "Tom Sawyer" and of "Tartarin in the Alps." And in like manner Scott's eulogy of "Gil Blas" falls on deaf ears now

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that it is addressed to those who have feasted their eyes on the far more varied panorama provided in the Waverley novels.

Much of our veneration for the classics is a sham, due in a measure to our sheep-like unwillingness to think for ourselves. Follow my leader is the game most of us play when we are called upon to declare our preferences. We put "Tom Jones," for example, into our lists of the "Hundred Best Books,"—lists, for the most part, as fatuous as they are absurd;—but if we were honest with ourselves, as I suppose we should be if the choice were actual, very few of us would pack "Tom Jones" in the chest we express to the mythical Desolate Island. There is no doubt that "Tom Jones" is a great novel, one of the greatest in our language, and perhaps one of the greatest in the modern literature of any country. It has form and substance; it is admirably planned and beautifully written; it abounds in humor and in irony and in knowledge of human nature; it is peopled by a company of living men and women, each of them firm on his or her feet; it reveals to us a most manly character, the character of Henry Fielding himself,—sturdy, honest and sincere, clear-eyed and plain-spoken. The book is eternal in its verity and therefore in its interest: but it has the remote morality of the eighteenth century, and the hardness of tone of that unlovely era; it belongs to an earlier stage in the development of fiction; it demands for its full enjoyment a certain measure of culture in its readers; and therefore it is becoming year by year more and more a novel for the few, and less and less a novel for the many.

As with "Tom Jones" so with "Don Quixote,"—a greater book, making a wider appeal, and not bounded by the horizon of a single century. The carelessness with which Cervantes put his story together, the fortuitous adventures and the incongruous meetings,—these things are of little consequence; for, as George Sand aptly put it, "the best books are not those with the fewest faults, but those with the greatest merits." The merits of "Don Quixote" are great beyond dispute; but are they such as can be appreciated by that impossible entity, the Average Reader? Spain's chivalry has been laughed away so thoroughly that nowadays a man must needs have studied in the schools to understand the circumstances of Cervantes' satire. The genuine appreciation of "Don Quixote," and of "Tom Jones," also, calls for a preparation that few readers of fiction possess, and for an effort which few of them are inclined to make.

If this is true, is it not best to admit it frankly?—to say honestly that the "Vicar of Wakefield" is a tissue of improbabilities, that *Gil*

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Blas, in the course of his rambles, happens upon much that is no longer entertaining, and that "Humphrey Clinker" is not the most amusing volume now available? The penalty for not speaking the truth boldly is pretty serious. It consists in the very real danger that he who is enticed by traditional eulogy to attempt these books and others like them, and who recoils with disappointment, as many a time he must, will thereafter distrust his judgment and will be inclined to suppose that literature is something hard, something dull, something repellent, something beyond his reach.

When Mr. Reed defined a statesman as "a successful politician who is dead," he voiced a sentiment very like that which rules many of our literary guides. In their minds, nothing is literature that was not written either in a dead language or by a dead man, and everything is literature which was written by a dead man in a dead language. They praise the old books which they either read with an effort or do not read at all; and it rarely occurs to them to analyze the source of their pleasure in the new books which they read with joy. "Huckleberry Finn," for example, has been devoured with delight by hundreds of thousands of Americans; but the rare references to it in print are most of them doubtful and patronizing.

Now "Huckleberry Finn" contains the picture of a civilization nowhere else adequately recorded in literature: it abounds in adventure and in character, in fun and in philosophy. It appears to me to be a work of extraordinary merit, and a better book of the same kind than "Gil Blas," richer in humor, and informed by a riper humanity. But Mark Twain's story is a book of to-day, and it is American; it is not a book of yesterday and foreign; it can be enjoyed by anybody, even by a boy, and it seems to make no demand on the understanding; there is no tradition of laudation encompassing it about, and it is not sanctified by two centuries of eulogy; it is easy for us to read, since the matter is familiar and the manner also; but it is difficult for us to praise, since the critics who preceded us have not set us the example.

Probably it was at a new opera that Rufus Choate besought his daughter to interpret to him the libretto, lest he dilate with the wrong emotion. At all the old operas every man of us knows with what emotion it is that he ought to dilate, since we are prone to accept the tradition, if only to save us the trouble of thinking for ourselves. To arouse us from our laziness and our lethargy there is nothing like a vehement assault on the inherited opinion, even if the charge is too sweeping, like Mark Twain's annihilation of Goldsmith's little masterpiece.

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If a study of the history of literature reveals anything clearly, it is that a reversal of the judgments of our ancestors, or at least a revision, after argument, is a condition of progress. If the old favorites cannot stand a new trial, there may be a recommendation to mercy; but there is no doubt about the verdict. For us to advance in the right path, we must look at literature, as we look at life, with our own eyes, and not through the spectacles of our grandfathers. The critics of the Renascence in every country of Europe were united in holding that the model of the drama had been set by the Greeks, once for all, and that this model was in no wise to be modified or departed from; and the insistence on this theory deprived Italy of a drama of its own, and came desperately near to strangling the drama of England and that of Spain. Fortunately, the populace of London and of Madrid were not awed by the authority of criticism; they knew what they wanted; they refused to accept the kind of play that had pleased the Greeks, but did not happen to please them; and they would not rest satisfied till they had Shakespeare and Calderon.

In the lapse of time Calderon and Shakespeare got themselves slowly accepted as classics, but after how hard a struggle, in the case of Shakespeare?—a struggle ending in the triumph of the dramatist only toward the end of the last century and with the outbreak of neo-romanticism. No department of literary history is, I think, more instructive, and none, I am sure, tends more to teach us humility, than the record of the fluctuations in the fame of one or another of the masters of literature,—such a record as Prof. Lounsbury has given us in one of his luminous "Studies of Chaucer." Each of these masters has had his eclipses, from which he has emerged at last; and many of the minor bards have had, each in his turn, their periods of effulgence, now come to an end forever. For nearly a century Shakespeare was held to be inferior to Ben Jonson; and for an even longer period Homer was held in lower esteem than the smoother Vergil.

Two or three hundred years ago the Italians used to speak of the Four Poets, meaning Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso; and in those days the rest of the civilized world was ready enough to admit the supremacy of this quartet. The canon of to-day also admits four poets, —Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe. We who speak English may wish to add Milton as a fifth; they who speak French might claim admission for Hugo instead; while the Latins would put in a plea for the inclusion of Vergil. But how Voltaire would have scoffed at any list that included the Gothic Dante and the barbarian Shakespeare!

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And how Voltaire's followers, the little German critics who came before Lessing, would have shrieked with horror at the omission of Pope, Boileau, and Horace! I wonder sometimes whether some of our opinions —even those upon which all the authoritative critics of our time are united—will not strike the more enlightened twenty-first century as equally jejune. And yet I need not wonder; for few things are more certain to come about than that the future will jeer at more than one judgment of the present, just as we scoff haughtily at many of the judgments of the past. Every century—even every generation—contributes material for a new chapter on the vicissitudes of artistic reputation.

For a decade or more Byron was universally accepted as the foremost poet of all Europe. Fifty years later Byron was ranked by most British critics below Shelley and Keats and Wordsworth, no one of whom has ever had any vogue outside of his own language. Now, again, as the century draws to an end, there are plentiful signs of a revolution in Byron's favor. But, if Byron ever reconquers a fame like that which he possessed just before his death, it will be by virtue of his real qualities and not by favor of accompanying faults,—although his earlier notoriety seemed to be due almost as much to the latter as to the former. In like manner Lamartine is regaining to-day in France a position such as he occupied once before, only he is solidly supported now and far better able to repel assault. So, too, Victor Hugo, against whom there was a violent reaction after his death,—a reaction perhaps not yet at an end in Paris itself,—is coming slowly to be recognized, especially by foreign critics, as the finest lyric poet of France, and even as the foremost lyrist of Europe in the nineteenth century. This recognition has been made possible only by the perspective of time, which has revealed the "Légende des Siècles" looming aloft above the immense mass of Hugo's other verse, and far above his romances and his dramas. During a man's lifetime there is a tendency to estimate him by his average work: after his death a juster valuation is arrived at by weighing only his best.

At Scott's death there was an outburst of eulogy,—as much a testimony of admiration for the final struggle of the man as it was an expression of gratitude for the pleasure given by the author. Soon the thermometer fell, and there were signs of a frost; then Lockhart published the biography, and Carlyle was ready with a review the underlying tone of which was the same contemptuous envy he showed toward almost every one of his successful contemporaries. Scott's merits were real enough to withstand, on the one side, Carlyle's disparagement, and, on the other, the discredit derived from a host of clumsy imitators.

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Yet he seems a sadly belated critic who now praises Scott for his tournaments, or for his pinchbeck chivalry, or for any other of the mediæval gauds which glittered so bravely in the eyes of those who read "Ivanhoe" when it first came out. Scott's title to survival is seen at last to be founded, like the title of Fielding and of Le Sage and of Cervantes, on his vigorous and veracious portrayal of human character, on his truthful reproduction of the shrewd and sturdy men and women whom he knew so well and loved so dearly.

Although Cooper was weak just where Scott was strong, he also had a firm grasp of elemental character,—*Long Tom Coffin*, for example, and *Natty Bumppo*, who, as Lowell said,

> "won't go to oblivion quicker
> Than Adams the parson or than Primrose the Vicar."

Since the publication of Prof. Lounsbury's model biography there has been a certain revision of critical opinion, and Cooper has risen again in the esteem of all who can tolerate his obvious faults and understand how precious are his abiding merits. Perhaps the highest tribute he has received has been the open and repeated imitation of half a dozen later British novelists,—Mr. Rider Haggard, for one, and Dr. Conan Doyle, for another.

In the same way has the fame of George Eliot and of Dickens wavered for a long while; establishing itself more firmly as time winnows their writings, leaving it to rest on only the best works of each and not merely on the bulk of them. In George Eliot's case, "Daniel Deronda" has already been dropped behind, and no longer impedes the full appreciation of "Silas Marner,"—perhaps the only one of her books which is direct and shapely. Dickens had even less sense of form than George Eliot; and yet he strove for constructive effects again and again, only to fail lamentably. This is one reason why those of his books are best liked now in which there is little or no pretence of a plot, in which, in fact, there is only a central figure serving as an excuse for the linking together of amusing characters and lively scenes. In "Nicholas Nickleby" there is hardly any more formal framework than there is in "Gil Blas" itself; and in "Gil Blas" the correlation of the incidents is frankly fortuitous. In fact, "Nicholas Nickleby" is one of the best specimens of the picaresque in our language. For many of us the "Pickwick Papers" is the most readable of Dickens's works, because it contains the least plot and the least pathos, and because it was written with the least effort and the least striving for effect.

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Dickens affords us an admirable example of the changing point of view of successive generations. In his own day the blank-verse death-beds of *Little Nell* and *Paul Dombey*, and the other instances of that massacre of the innocents in which Dickens out-heroded Herod, were successful in drawing tears even from unsympathetic souls, like Jeffrey. In our time these scenes annoy us; they are felt to be offensive; and they are apologized for even by the thick-and-thin defenders of Dickens. So, too, the "effects" which Dickens worked up conscientiously and with an immensity of pains seem to us to-day tawdry, not to say theatrical; and we feel the essential falseness of the devices which Dickens took obvious pride in.

What makes Mr. George Gissing's recent study of Dickens's method significant is the strange frankness with which the friendly critic admits the justice of the accusations brought against the earlier novelist's art, and the ingenuity with which he shows us that, in spite of all, Dickens's power is indisputable and his genius transcendent. All the characteristics of Dickens's writing which Mr. Howells has expressed his distaste for, Mr. Gissing allows to be execrable; he shows how Dickens yielded without a struggle to the popular liking for happy endings, and how he never hesitated at the most illogical transmogrification of character in order to bring this about; and then he seeks to establish Dickens's fame solidly for the future on the novelist's veracity in dealing with types of character in the lower middle-class of London, denying that *Mrs. Gamp* is in any way exaggerated, calling her almost photographic, and declaring that the reproduction of *Mrs. Varden's* talk is phonographic in its accuracy. Mr. Gissing even ventures to compare Dickens with Balzac, with Victor Hugo, with Dostoyefsky, and with Daudet; finding "in Balzac a stronger intellect, but by no means a greater genius."

Mr. Gissing's essay reveals genuine insight into the principles of the novelist's art; it is modest and moderate; it is convincing. At least one reader, who would have confessed to little liking for Dickens either as a man or as an artist, laid it down with the feeling that the critic had made out his case, and that the adverse decision against Dickens must needs be revised now in the light of Mr. Gissing's argument, so cogent is this plea of confession and avoidance.

And yet a doubt arises again when we recall the pregnant saying of Joseph de Maistre, that, to judge a book, "it is enough to know by whom it is loved and by whom it is hated." Now as between Dickens and Thackeray—to bring up again the comparison which is apparently as inevitable as it is absurd—one may have a suspicion that the former

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is more admired by the weaklings and the sentimentalists, by the gently hypocritical and the morally short-sighted, while the latter pleases rather those who think for themselves and who stand firmly on their own feet and who take the world as it is. One robust British critic, whose own manners are notoriously bad, seems to me to prefer Dickens chiefly because Thackeray was a gentleman.

In comparing Dickens with Victor Hugo, Mr. Gissing sets *Inspector Bucket* by the side of *Javert,* and finds a realistic character in the British detective, and in the French a type, "an incarnation of the penal code, neither more or less." Then he declares that "'Les Miserables' is one of the world's great books," and admits that this "cannot be said of any one of Dickens's." This raises a most interesting question: What *are* the world's great books? Of course, the list would be drawn up very differently in different countries and in different centuries. The American list would not be quite the same as the British list, although there is identity of language and of literary tradition. Either of these English lists would diverge widely from the French. The Italian list and the Spanish would be closer to the French; and the German list would approach the English. If a score of competent critics, chosen from the chief modern languages, were empowered to select a dozen cosmopolitan classics there would be agreement only in regard to the ancients. About the moderns there would be the utmost diversity of opinion; no book of Dickens's would be put on the list, nor any book of Thackeray's either, nor aught of Hawthorne's; while a volume of Poe's short stories might perhaps survive the discussion, and so might "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Perhaps "Gil Blas" and "Paul and Virginia" and the "Vicar of Wakefield" would be able to make good their claims, and perhaps not. Perhaps, indeed, the only books in our language (except a play or two of Shakespeare's) that are absolutely certain of insertion are the two books of our boyhood, "Gulliver's Travels" and "Robinson Crusoe," both of them tales of seafaring, and both of them intimately characteristic of the stock that speaks English on the opposite shores of the Atlantic.

If the malignant Swift has any knowledge now of what is happening among the descendants of the men and women he despised and cringed before, it must feed fat his humor that the book he wrote to record his hatred of humanity survives to-day as a fairy-tale in the nursery. He meant it for gall and wormwood,—and lo! it is found to be spoon-meat for babes. Books have their strange fates like men; but surely none could be stranger than this, the very irony of circumstance.

As for "Robinson Crusoe," its permanence can be explained easily

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enough. M. de Vogüé has recently declared that the list of cosmopolitan classics must finally be restricted to two books, "Don Quixote" and "Robinson Crusoe." He tells us that—

> "other masterpieces take higher rank, from the perfection of their art or from the sublimity of their thought, but they do not address themselves to every age and to every condition; they demand for their enjoyment a mind already formed and an intellectual culture not given to everyone. Cervantes and De Foe alone have solved the problem of interesting . . . the little child and the thoughtful old man, the servant-girl and the philosopher."

M. de Vogüé declares "Don Quixote" to be the most pessimistic of books, and "Robinson Crusoe" the most optimistic. He discovers in the first the whole history of Spain, and in the latter the true portrait of the English-speaking race. He sees in the shipwrecked solitary the type of the mythic hero of the North,—stout-hearted and devout, ready with his hands, and sure of himself.

That "Don Quixote" is a greater book than "Robinson Crusoe," few would deny; but, if the cosmopolitan classics are two, then is the Spanish masterpiece less cosmopolitan than the English, since its appeal is not so universal, and to appreciate it calls for more knowledge and more effort. A boy needs to learn what knight-errantry is before he can enter into sympathy with the hero of Cervantes and begin to make believe with him. But what boy is there who cannot invent for himself a desert island and hostile savages? De Foe's hero is a type of all mankind; *Robinson Crusoe's* struggle for existence is ours also; and in his adventures we foresee our own,—every man fighting for his own hand, every man with his back against the wall. BRANDER MATTHEWS.

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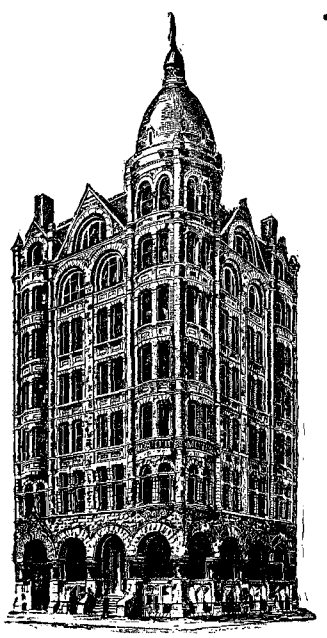

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WRITERS IN THE AUGUST FORUM.

MR. BROOKS ADAMS, born at Quincy, Massachusetts, in June, 1848, was educated partly in Europe and partly in America, and graduated at Harvard in 1870. He was admitted to the bar, and practised law for a number of years. Latterly his pursuits have been mostly literary. In 1887 he published the "Emancipation of Massachusetts," and in 1895, "The Law of Civilization and Decay."

MR. EDWARD FARRER is a Canadian journalist. He is a native of the United Kingdom, was educated at Jesuit colleges there and on the Continent, and has written a good deal about French Canada and its people in American magazines. He sides with the Liberal Party in Canada, and is accused by the Tory Party of laboring, with Mr. Goldwin Smith, to bring about the political union of Canada with the United States. Mr. Farrer has spent a good deal of time in Washington lately, and is familiar with the subjects that are to be discussed by the Anglo-American Commission.

PROF. JAMES H. HYSLOP, born in Ohio, was graduated from Worcester University, Ohio, and taught at Lake Forest University, Illinois, and at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Spent two years at the University of Leipsic, received a doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins University, and later was called to Columbia College, where he is Professor of Logic and Ethics.

PROF. BRANDER MATTHEWS, born at New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1852, was graduated from Columbia College in 1871, and in 1892 was appointed to the chair of literature in that college. Prof. Matthews is the author of several works of criticism and fiction and of several dramatic compositions.

HON. JOHN BALL OSBORNE, born at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1868, was graduated from Yale University in 1889, and in 1894 received from that institution the honorary degree of Master of Arts in recognition of published articles in the field of economics. In 1889, when he had barely attained his majority, he was appointed United States Consul at Ghent, Belgium, which position he retained until 1894. On his return he was admitted to the bar at Philadelphia. In 1896 he removed to Scranton, Pennsylvania, and continued the practice of his profession until October, 1897, when he was selected by President McKinley as one of the two secretaries of the Reciprocity Commission.

MAJOR JOHN WESLEY POWELL was born at Mount Morris, New York, in 1834. He spent two years each at Oberlin and Wheaton Colleges, Illinois, studying natural history in the field and making scientific collections. Was a member of the Second Illinois Artillery during the Civil War, and lost his right arm at Shiloh. In 1865–66 he was Professor in the Illinois Wesleyan University and in Illinois Normal University, and in 1867 explored the Grand Canyon of Colorado River. He was made

(*Continued on page 8.*)

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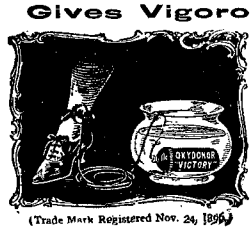

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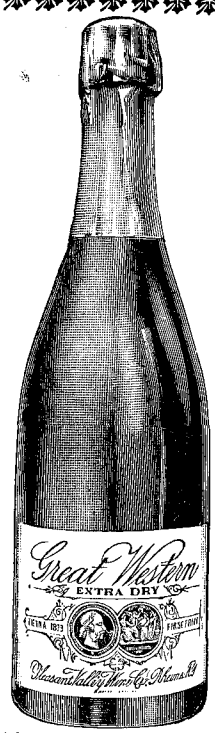

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Director of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879, and of the United States Geological Survey in the following year. Major Powell has received degrees from Harvard, Heidelberg, and other universities, and has been made an honorary member of many learned societies throughout the world. His numerous and important reports on geography, geology, irrigation, and ethnology resulted in the award to him by the French Academy in 1891 of the famous Cuvier Prize. He has also written many articles on scientific subjects in popular and technical journals, and is the author of a work on the "Canyons of the Colorado" (1893).

HON. GEORGE LOCKHART RIVES, born in the city of New York in 1849, was graduated from Columbia College in 1868, and subsequently entered Trinity College, Cambridge, England, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in January, 1872. In 1874, after taking the degree of LL.B. at Columbia College Law School, he was admitted to the bar, and has since practised law in New York city. In 1887 Mr. Rives was appointed by President Cleveland Assistant Secretary of State; holding that office till March, 1889. Mr. Rives has been for the past sixteen years a member of the Board of Trustees of Columbia College. He was also a member of the Boards of Trustees of the Astor and Lenox Libraries prior to their consolidation, and is now a member of the Board of Trustees of the New York Public Library.

HIS EXCELLENCY ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE was born in 1831 at Nürtingen, Würtemberg. In 1860 he was appointed Professor of Political Economy in the University of Tübingen, and in 1868 to a similar position in the University of Vienna. In 1871 became Austrian Minister of Commerce, but soon resigned his post, and removed to Stuttgart, where he engaged actively in scientific and literary matters. He is one of the leading German economists, and has written a series of works, of which his "Quintessence of Socialism" has appeared in several editions.

MR. JAMES SCHOULER, born at West Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1839, was graduated at Harvard in 1859, and studied and practised law in Boston, but has devoted most of his time to literary work. Since 1884 Mr. Schouler has lectured in Boston University Law School, where he is now Professor of Law, and in the National Law School at Washington, District of Columbia; is also a Lecturer at Johns Hopkins University on American Political History and Constitutional Law. He is the author of many law-books, which are largely cited and are used as text-books; the most important of his works being the "History of the United States of America under the Constitution," which has received much well-deserved praise for its scholarship and thoroughness.

MR. T. J. J. SEE, the well-known young American astronomer and mathematician, was born near Montgomery City, Missouri, in 1866. He was educated at the Missouri State University and at the University of Berlin; was for several years in charge of the Department of Astronomy in the University of Chicago, and has since been associated with the Lowell Observatory in an exploration of the double stars of the southern hemisphere. Mr. See is the author of numerous scientific papers, the most important of which is the first volume of "Researches on the Evolution of the Stellar System."

MR. STEPHEN LEONARD THURLOW was born at Newburyport, in 1834, and was graduated from the High School of Philadelphia. For several years was engaged in the woollen trade, and later in coal-mining. Since his retirement from business, some fifteen years ago, Mr. Thurlow has written for various newspapers and periodicals on national and economic topics.

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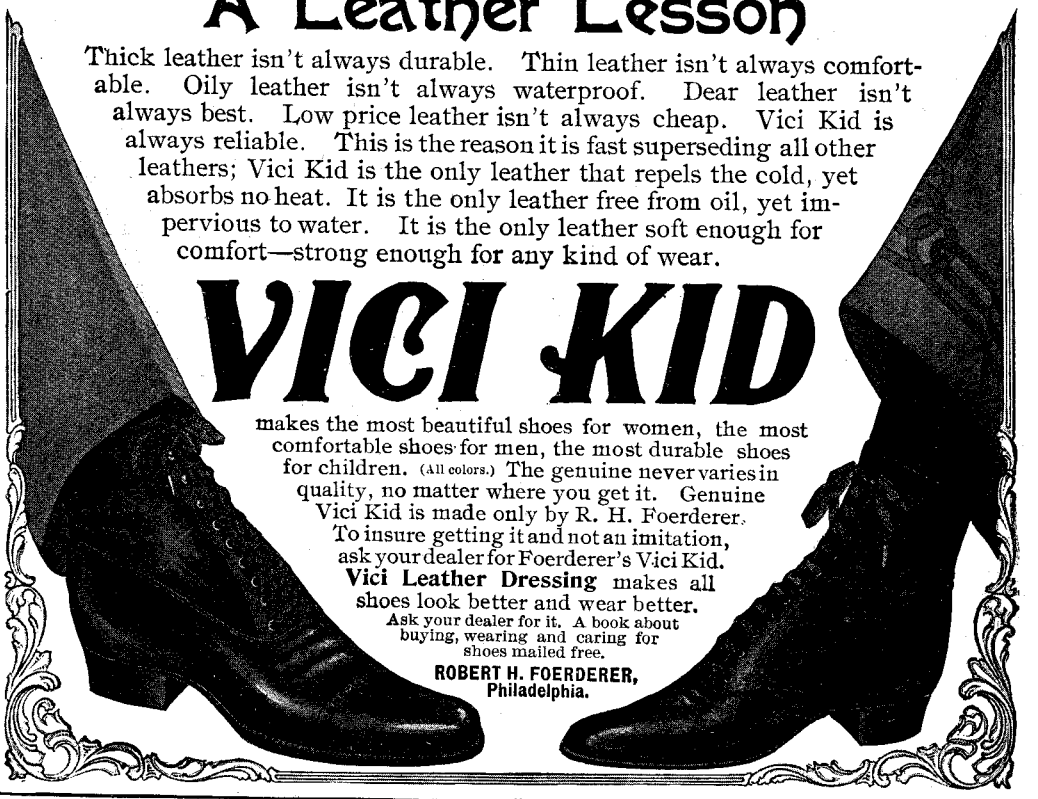

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34th Annual Statement

OF THE

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Chartered 1863. (Stock.) Life and Accident Insurance.

JAMES G. BATTERSON, Pres't.

Hartford, Conn., January 1, 1898.

PAID-UP CAPITAL, $1,000,000.

ASSETS.

Real Estate,	$1,994,465.31
Cash on hand and in bank,	1,355,412.83
Loans on bond and mortgage, real estate,	5,906,610.72
Interest accrued but not due,	227,730.38
Loans on collateral security,	945,400.94
Loans on this Company's Policies,	1,106,580.51
Deferred Life Premiums,	299,990.19
Prems. due and unreported on Life Policies,	228,448.75
United States Bonds,	14,000.00
State, county and Municipal Bonds,	3,612,646.78
Railroad stocks and bonds,	4,664,205.75
Bank stocks,	1,064,047.00
Other stocks and bonds,	1,449,455.00
Total Assets,	$22,868,994.16

LIABILITIES.

Reserve, 4 per cent., Life Department,	$16,650,062.00
Reserve for Re-insurance, Accident Dep't,	1,365,817.22
Present value, Instalment Life Policies.	426,288.00
Reserve for Claims resisted for Employers,	299,066.80
Losses unadjusted,	269,794.94
Life Premiums paid in advance,	25,330.58
Special Reserve for unpaid taxes, rents, etc.,	110,000.00
Total Liabilities,	$19,146,359.04
Excess Security to Policy-holders.	$3,722,635.12
Surplus to Stockholders	$2,722,635.12

STATISTICS TO DATE.

LIFE DEPARTMENT.

Life Insurance in force	$91,882,210.00
New Life Insurance written in 1897	14,507,249.00

Insurance issued under the Annuity Plan is entered at the commuted value thereof as required by law.

Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	1,235,585.39
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	13,150,350.57

ACCIDENT DEPARTMENT.

Number Accident Claims paid in 1897,	15,611
Whole number Accident Claims paid,	307,990
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	$1,381,906.81
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	21,210,095.96
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897	$2,617,492.20
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	34,360,446.53

GEORGE ELLIS, Secretary.
JOHN E. MORRIS, Ass't Secretary.
EDWARD V. PRESTON, Sup't of Agencies.
J. B. LEWIS, M.D., Surgeon and Adjuster.
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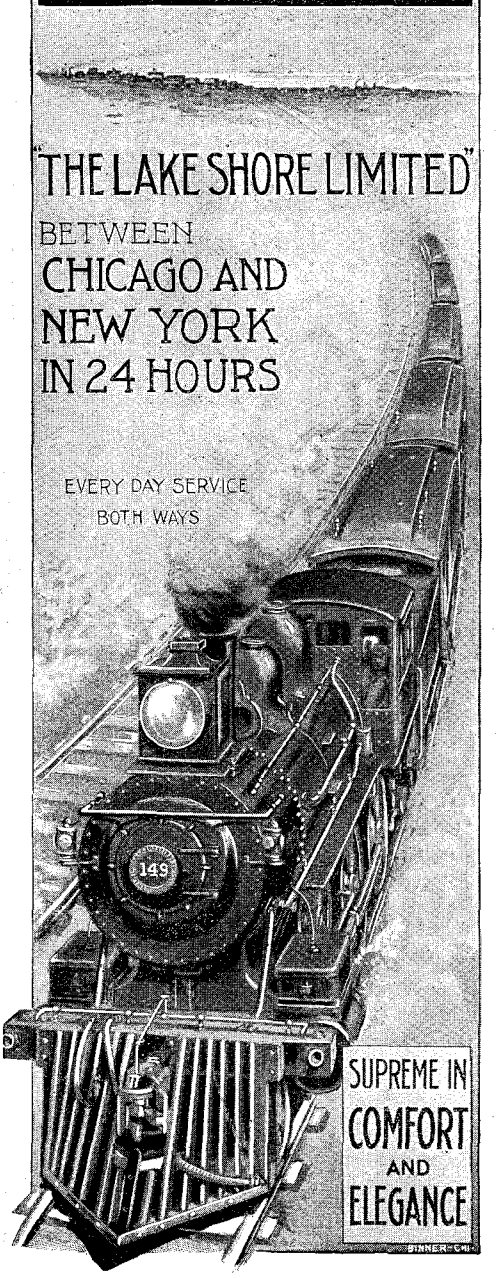

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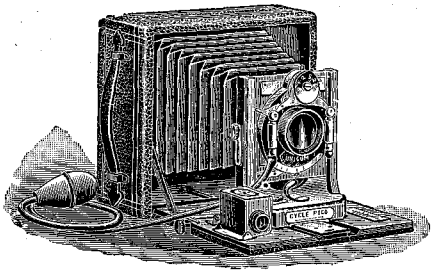

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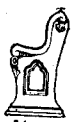

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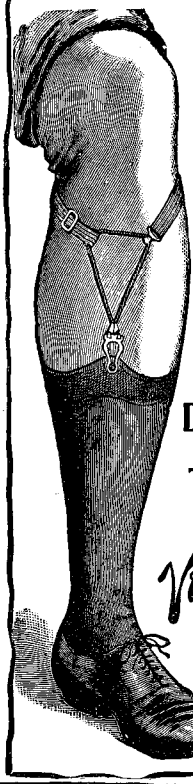

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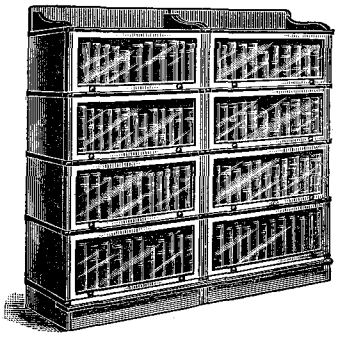

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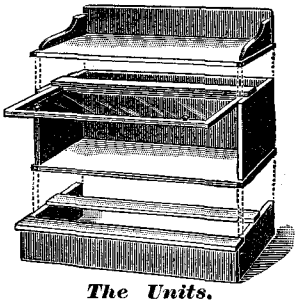

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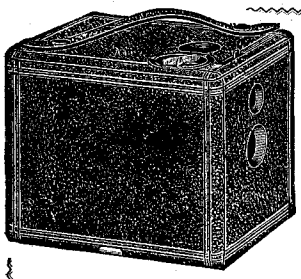

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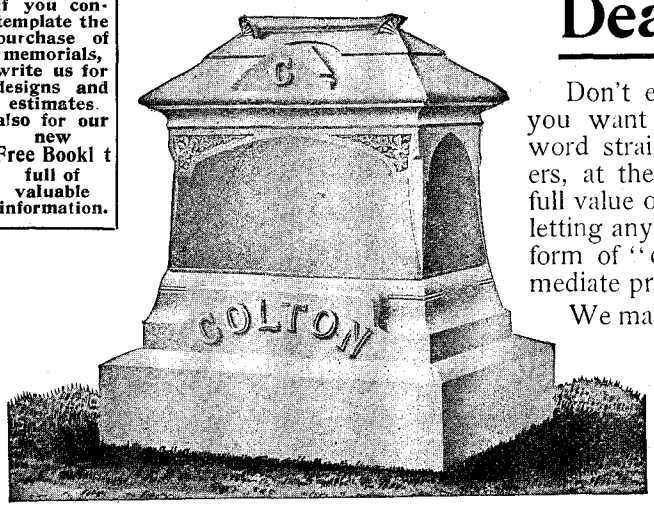

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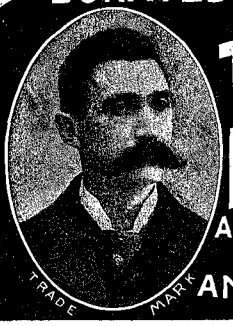

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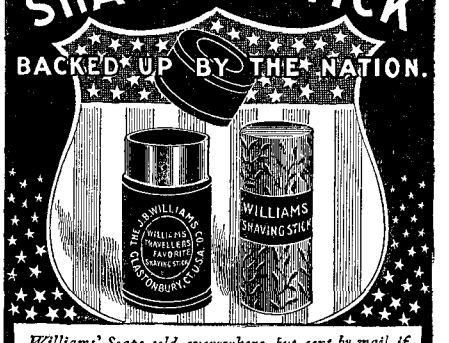

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